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The Canadian Historical Review

NEW SERIES
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THE REVIEW OF HISTORICAL PUBLICATIONS
RELATING TO CANADA

(FOUNDED 1896)

VOL. IV

TORONTO, DECEMBER, 1923

No. 4

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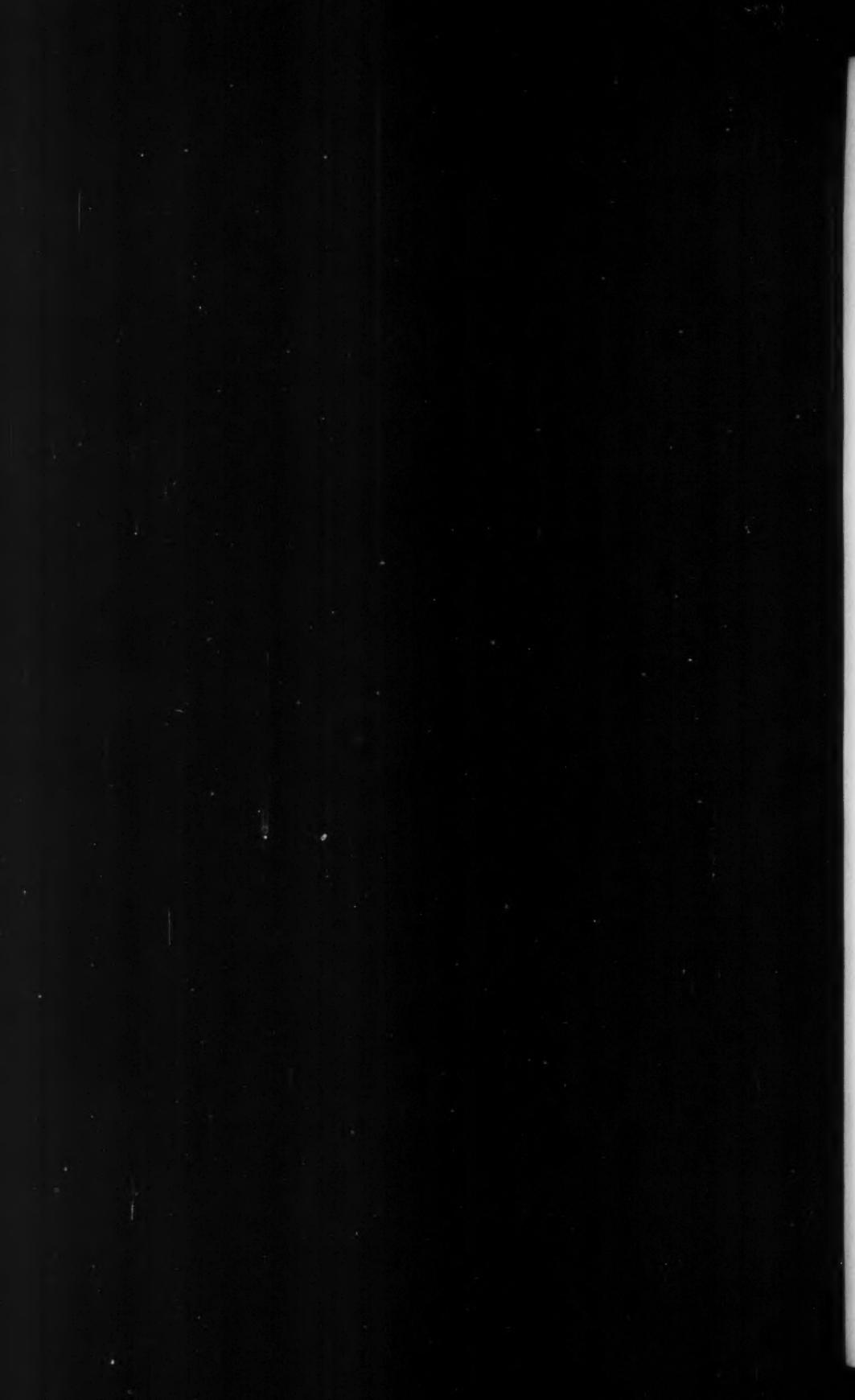
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NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE historian Taine once advised a young man to begin the study of history by making the rounds of the hospitals of Paris; and no doubt the medical aspects of history have often been too much ignored. There has recently been published by an Australian surgeon, Dr. Charles MacLaurin, a series of historical essays entitled *Post Mortem: Essays historical and medical* (London, 1923), which subjects to a medical diagnosis the cases of such historical characters as Anne Boleyn, Jeanne d'Arc, Charles V, Philip II, Marat, Napoleon, and Benvenuto Cellini. There is a most interesting paper also on "Mr. and Mrs. Pepys". In each case the medical evidence is considered, and an attempt is made to trace the historical results of the conditions disclosed. Of Anne Boleyn, for instance, the author says that "her conduct may be fully explained by supposing that she was afflicted with hysteria and nymphomania"; and he shows that Napoleon suffered for years from the disease which later became malignant and carried him off. His diagnoses do not readily lend themselves to quotation, nor do they ignore the unpleasant side of life; but it must be admitted that few of them fail to throw a distinctly new light on the phase of history with which they deal. In one chapter, indeed, Dr. MacLaurin ventures on some generalizations which would seem to suggest a hitherto little-explored phase of political science:

Arterio-sclerosis, high blood-pressure, hyperpiesis, and chronic

Bright's disease—all more or less names for the same thing, or at any rate for cognate disorders—form one of the great tragedies of the world. They attack the very men whom we can least spare; they are essentially the diseases of statesmen. Although these diseases have been attributed to many causes—that is to say, we do not really know their true cause—it is certain that worry has a great deal to do with them. If a man be content to live the life of a cabbage, eat little, and drink no alcohol, it is probable that he will not suffer from high blood-pressure; but if he is determined to work hard, live well, and yet struggle furiously, then his arteries and kidneys inevitably go wrong and he is not likely to stand the strain for many years. Unless a politician has an iron nerve and preternaturally calm nature, or unless he is fortunate enough to be carried off by pneumonia, then he is almost certain to die of high blood-pressure if he persists in his politics. I could name a dozen able politicians who have fallen victims to their political anxieties. . . . Every politician should have his blood-pressure tested . . . about once a quarter, and if it should show signs of rising he should undoubtedly take a long rest until it falls again; it is not fair that the lives of millions should depend upon the judgment of a man whose mind is warped by arterio-sclerosis.

One cannot help wondering what light would be thrown on Canadian history by a medico-historical study of the later years of Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, or by a psychopathic examination of the career of William Lyon Mackenzie.

A new report on the teaching of history in secondary schools has been issued by the Board of Education in England.¹ The committee who have produced this report have made a survey of the developments which have taken place in the teaching of history in secondary schools during the last fifteen years, and they are able to point out a substantial and gratifying progress. They find teachers "better read in history", and school libraries "far better equipped". They find "a greater care in organising the subject as a whole", and "a great increase in the interest taken in the subject, a desire to improve both methods and results". They note, for instance, the introduction of an almost wholly new feature in "the use of so-called source books to stimulate intellectual curiosity on the part of the pupils and for illustration by the teacher"; and they believe that "this recent development

¹ *The Teaching of History*, Board of Education: Educational Pamphlets, No. 37 (6d.).

of the last few years must be counted to the good, though its value may be set too high". On the other hand, they are obliged to note, in the schools which have come under their observation, one or two prevailing defects, such as the insufficient planning of the lessons on the part of the teacher, and the neglect of dates and accuracy in fact on the part of the pupil. Not only by teachers of history, but by all who are interested in the teaching of history, the report will be found to be worth perusal, since it takes stock of very recent developments that have been passing almost unnoticed.

The announcement that Sir Leicester Harmsworth has presented to the Canadian Archives, in memory of his brother Lord Northcliffe, the Monckton manuscripts acquired by him a year or more ago by public auction, is one deserving of note. These manuscripts, which contain a number of letters written by Wolfe during the siege of Quebec, are apparently of much interest and importance, and the Canadian government tried to secure them for the Archives when they came on the market. Its offer, however, was outbid by Sir Leicester Harmsworth, and his generosity in now handing over these manuscripts to the Canadian Archives merits the gratitude of the people of Canada. The Canadian Archives are, in the nature of the case, richer in transcripts than in original documents, and transcripts made by hand are seldom wholly accurate. The addition to the Archives of such precious original materials as the Monckton manuscripts is therefore doubly cause for congratulation. The example of Sir Leicester Harmsworth should stimulate wealthy men in Canada itself to go and do likewise.

The recent foundation in England of a Canadian historical society, with the King as patron and the Duke of Connaught as president, is naturally a matter of much interest to Canadians. The information vouchsafed by the cable services is, at the time of our going to press, somewhat inadequate, and the exact objects which the society has in view are not wholly clear. In the next number of the REVIEW, however, we hope to be able to give a full and detailed statement with regard to the obviously interesting circumstances in which the society was founded, and the objects which it is intended to serve.

The centenary of the birth of Francis Parkman, which has

just been celebrated with appropriate ceremonies both in Canada and the United States, is the occasion of the review of Parkman's work, which is the leading article in the present number of this REVIEW. The paper is by Professor George M. Wrong of the University of Toronto, whose long familiarity with Canadian historical work entitles him to discuss with peculiar fitness Parkman's contribution to Canadian history. Of the remaining articles, that on Gladstone as a colonial statesman is by Professor Knaplund of the University of Wisconsin; and the paper entitled *Mearns and the Miramichi*—a note on Canadian economic history—is by Professor C. R. Fay, formerly a fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, and now professor of economic history in the University of Toronto. Under the heading of *Notes and Documents* is a paper of especial interest to close students of Canadian history. This paper, which is entitled *Sir Guy Carleton and his First Council*, and which necessitates a revision of the traditional views with regard to Carleton's administration, is by Professor A. L. Burt, of the University of Alberta.

FRANCIS PARKMAN

THE hundredth anniversary of Parkman's birth furnishes the occasion to consider his work, after time has applied a testing. Eighty odd years ago, before he was eighteen, he began consciously to fit himself for his task, and when he died, more than fifty years later, he had spent his life on it and had rounded it out to completeness. In the youth we find already the outlook, the literary style, the methods of the veteran of seventy. Here is a fragment from his journal written in 1842, when he was nineteen. Its theme of the forest pervades all his books:

The road was still hilly, narrow, and great part of the way flanked by woods. The valley of the river looked, as it always does, rich and fertile, but the hills and mountains around presented one unbroken expanse of forest, made the more sombre by the deep shadows of the clouds. In the afternoon we reached a hill-top and a vast panorama of mountains and forests lay before us. A glistening spot of water, some miles to the north, girt with mountains which sloped down to it from all sides with a smooth and gradual descent, was Lake Connecticut.¹

Here we have already the cadences, perhaps hardly haunting, but possessing a real charm, of all the books of Parkman. He had two dominant impressions, almost passions; one the fascination of life in the wilderness, the other the vast importance and the dramatic quality of the struggle for a continent, which had been a wilderness, between two great nations, France and England.

The cultivated traveller in Europe is wont to applaud the wealth of historical memories linked with its scenes, as against the poverty of such association in the landscapes of America. Parkman, however, reversed the rule. To him the charm was in what was still wild and untouched by man. When he looked in England on the green hills, the hedges, the smooth lawns, touched by ages of human effort, his preference went to the less finished scenes of the wilderness:

¹ H. D. Sedgwick, *Francis Parkman*, Boston, 1904, p. 45.

Give me the rocky hillside, the shaggy cedar and scrub-oak, the wide reach of uncultivated landscape, the fiery glare of the sun . . . its wild and ruddy light. All is new, all is rough, no charm of the familiar. Fierce savages have roamed like beasts amid its rugged scenery; there was a day of struggle, and they have passed away, and a race of indomitable men have succeeded them.¹

It was his aim to fit human effort into this forest scene. From early youth his imagination was fired by a plan which, as he says, haunted even his dreams. Perhaps a New Englander was in some subtle way best fitted to describe the efforts of France. They had, for him, the romance of vivid contrast; their very strangeness appealed to his imagination. He could not describe his own people, whom he knew so well, without bringing in the chastening knowledge that they were no heroes of romance, but realists with eyes keen for the main chance. The French he saw in a different light. He assumed something which a deeper knowledge of the present in Canada would have shown him to be not quite true, that the dominion of the French in America had vanished and was only a memory:

When we evoke its departed shades, they rise upon us from their graves in a strange, romantic guise. Again their ghostly camp-fires seem to burn, and the fitful light is cast around on lord and vassal and black-robed priest, mingled with wild forms of savage warriors, knit in close fellowship on the same stern errand. A boundless vision grows upon us; an untamed continent; vast wastes of forest verdure; mountains silent in primeval sleep; river, lake, and glimmering pool; wilderness oceans mingling with the sky.²

In these two thoughts of the forest and of France were wrapped the details of Parkman's theme. His half century of labour represents simply a growth from this beginning, and it may be doubted whether any historian ever equipped himself for his task with firmer resolve and concentration. In due course he inherited a fortune, and he spent a goodly part of his income in securing manuscript materials. Once on the scent he hunted these with relentless persistence. During fifteen years he made enquiries in every likely quarter for certain letters of Montcalm. They were not in the possession of Montcalm's family. He examined catalogues of printed and of manuscript collections. In

¹ Sedgwick, p. 117.

² *Pioneers of France in the New World*, p. xxii.

the end an official in the British Museum joined him in the hunt, and at last the "wonderful collection", as he called it, was found among the treasures in the vast storehouse of Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham. Phillipps had some sixty thousand manuscripts, many of them priceless, and the Montcalm letters had not been included in his catalogue. On receiving the news, Parkman hurried to Cheltenham and quickly copied the precious papers. This was a type of sport in which his interest never faded. In Quebec, in London, in Paris, he had copyists working for him, and he made a collection of considerable value. His manuscripts form to-day a collection under his name in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Some of the copies were made by his own hand as early as in 1845, when he was in his twenty-second year.

One result of Parkman's energy was that it led to the publication of much valuable material. The custodians of manuscripts are often jealous of their treasures. Such a person was Pierre Margry, director of the Archives of the Marine and Colonies in Paris. The work of his life had been among manuscripts, and his special field was French discovery in the region of the Mississippi. To both Parkman and Margry, La Salle was an interesting hero. But Margry stood jealously on guard over his treasures, for he wished to have all the glory of giving them to the world and would not let Parkman see them. In refusing this access in the interest of his own literary ambition, he was unfaithful to his duty as a public servant, but Parkman dealt with him with infinite patience. Mr. Sedgwick, whose *Life of Parkman* far surpasses the rather insipid chronicle of Mr. Farnham, describes Margry's characteristics:

Margry was a man with whom it would have been hard to remain angry, even for a much less generous person than Parkman; he was a voluble, Gallic, kindly, smiling, enthusiastic little person, lively, alert, "sensitive and distrustful," wearing his mustachios and goatee after the fashion of the Second Empire. An amiable, infantile look of quizzical cunning on his face, with his silk hat, kid gloves, and loose pantaloons, effectually disqualified him as an object of indignation. He was very friendly, liked to come and sit and chat, and would stay till cockcrow if permitted.¹

In the end Parkman secured a grant from the Congress of the United States, and M. Margry had the glory of publicity. This

¹ Sedgwick, p. 289.

stimulated effort in other quarters, and the contents of a vast mass of manuscripts are to-day in print, largely as a result of Parkman's example.

Parkman was not, however, content to sit in his study and use his authorities. He must, as far as possible, witness the type of people whom he described and the scenes of their activities. He visited every locality which played any important part in his books; and wherever he went he sought the "oldest inhabitant", to get gleanings from his memory; he examined and measured the sites of forts and blockhouses, secured plans and maps, and was thus equipped to place events accurately in their setting. In the forties the American Indian still preserved in the far West something like his earlier conditions of life. Accordingly Parkman resolved to go thither and live with him for a time. In 1846 we find him setting out from what is now Kansas City, on what he called "the Oregon Trail". For some months he lived with the Indians, and sought to penetrate the mysteries of their mind which, though he had read nearly every book dealing with Indians, he was sure could not be learned merely from the printed page. He had longed to see Indians on the war path, and now he saw them. The Frenchmen of the time of Frontenac and La Salle, whom he clothed in a mantle of romance, were gone forever, but the Indians remained and Parkman was able to judge them with the realism which marks another side of his intelligence. The result was that the noble red man vanished from his thought, and in its place came the Indian of his books, superstitious, cunning, treacherous, brutal, but with bursts of fitful generosity and chivalry. Parkman's life overlapped by nearly thirty years that of Fenimore Cooper. One would have liked to overhear a conversation between the realist and the romanticist on the life of the forest. Parkman's Indians are sinful men; Cooper's are made of "painted cloth and cardboard".

The strenuous months spent with the Indians brought to maturity the most tragic feature of Parkman's life. In his activities he was driven by a demoniac spirit, scornful of moderation and prudence. He made overdrafts on his vitality, and the result was lifelong invalidism. He developed a complication of maladies: a weak heart, indigestion, impaired eye-sight, water on the knee, resulting in permanent lameness, and, worst of all, the insomnia which at one time brought him to the verge of insanity. He bore all this with stoic fortitude. He rightly thought it a vulgar vice to talk of his ailments, and only a few knew under

what handicaps he worked. At times he could not see, and then he wrote on paper with lines ruled by wires which directed his hand. When he could not himself read, his materials, which were chiefly in French, were read to him, often by an unlettered person, innocent of any knowledge of French pronunciation. Sometimes he could not work for more than five minutes at a time. Necessarily his life was isolated. He came little into touch with men of equal consequence and fame. It is usual to deplore this isolation as a great handicap. He suffered much, and in this he commands our sympathy. But, since he had to live a carefully guarded life, with no outside distractions, he concentrated his energies on his one task. It is interesting to speculate whether Parkman would not have written less rather than more had he been free to share in other activities. He could not be called away from his own work to give the lectures, make the speeches, and serve on the committees, which would have been expected from a normally healthy man of his literary rank, and which render many fine minds fruitless in permanent achievement.

It is easy to disparage Parkman's theme and to say that he deals largely with petty and barbaric warfare, and that to write two volumes on the plotting of a wily savage is to lose the sense of proportion. Parkman would have met the challenge squarely. He would have said that the conflict between France and England in North America makes an epic of importance to mankind. Its results are the character and outlook of the people of a continent, of both the United States and Canada to-day. The importance of battles is not to be measured by the number of the combatants. Wolfe at Quebec was deciding issues vastly more important than those of the siege of Syracuse. Yet no one says that Thucydides was dealing with an inadequate theme. We may therefore admit that, even though there were fewer than a hundred thousand French in North America when Parkman's story ends, his task was worthy of an historian of the first rank.

Parkman's work is rich in insight and imagination: insight in respect both to character and policy, imagination in making his characters rise visibly to the eye. Before Parkman's time the literature relating to French Canada made little appeal beyond the French Canadians. In 1840 Lord Durham could describe them as a people almost without a history. Champlain was, as Parkman himself said, a person half forgotten. The English-speaking world was tolerably familiar with the work of La Salle, but it barely knew the names of Frontenac and Laval.

Even Wolfe and Montcalm, classic figures in history, had not yet been fixed in the minds of the average reader as living personalities. Now even commerce has been influenced by the fame which Parkman gave to his heroes. A gigantic hotel at Quebec has found it good for business to take the name of Frontenac, and Champlain's fame is such that in 1908 three great nations joined in a magnificent demonstration to do him honour.

Insight and dramatic power will go a long way to make a sound historian, but they are not everything. Parkman added to them the exhaustive examination of his material linked with accuracy in interpreting it. Here again his affliction may in some measure have aided him. Since often he could not read and re-read for himself, he had to discipline his memory. During long hours of silent brooding he made living pictures of men and scenes, framed paragraphs of narrative, and tested them by repetition and re-examination. One may almost say that Parkman never makes a mistake, certainly never a glaring one. We may be able to correct and supplement his story by knowledge available to us, but not to him. His narrative may show bias, but never does it betray slovenliness or inexactitude.

The man who says the lily is fairer than the rose cannot be proved in the wrong, though we may reject his judgment. It is perhaps not possible to give Parkman relative place as compared with other historians. He has been ranked by admiring fellow-countrymen with Thucydides and Tacitus. Time will give the verdict. It is not clear what Greeks thought of Thucydides one hundred years after his birth or Romans of Tacitus. Parkman may surpass them both with a remote posterity; comparisons are vain. His fame labours under one disadvantage. It is reasonable to suppose that it is the best of Thucydides and of Tacitus which has survived; their youthful indiscretions, we may hope, are lost. But Parkman's earlier and his later books form a connected whole; he wrote the first of them when he was little more than twenty, the last when he was nearly seventy. They stand together on our shelves: the turgid picturesqueness of unchastened youth, linked in a connected story with the restrained sedateness of the veteran. No other great historian has to bear such a test. Macaulay and Gibbon wrote their dignified histories as a single whole when they had reached the grave decorum of middle age; we can, if we like, forget their prentice work, if such there is. But Parkman's prentice work is a part of his completed performance.

Probably no European writer is prepared to put Parkman in the very first rank. Gibbon and Macaulay wrote of periods classic in European history, and connected with a long tradition of scholarly effort. They used material in the main known to a considerable circle of European scholars. Of Parkman's field, on the other hand, only a rare scholar in Europe knew anything, and his chief authorities had no place in the great libraries. It is hard for Europe to believe that a writer in a field so crude and new in its apparatus of scholarship could rank with the greatest names. This is only another phase of that perennial air of superiority in Europe, because it is old, to America, because it is young. The belief runs undimmed in London that nobody in America has any ancestors. Parkman, however, is not to be judged by *a priori* methods. We must not measure the man, his theme, and the execution of his task by standards really alien. He has rather suffered in reputation in the house of his friends. Mr. Farnham wrote his *Life* with the resolve to avoid the faults of the admiring biographer. But his integrity leads him to emphasize unduly Parkman's defects. Parkman, he says, "rarely expresses sympathy or admiration for men, either as nations, classes, or individuals".¹ We gather that he was grim and censorious, that his wit was mordant, and that he had few friends. This gives, however, a one-sided picture of the man. Parkman was reserved. His own family did not know that he was writing his first book until they saw a chapter in print. His mode of life tended to increase his reserve. His honest mind shrank from even the suspicion of pretence. He loved Nature, but he disliked Wordsworth as leading to hypocritical idealism. He feared to praise the virtues of the physically weak, of whom he was one, and declared that instead of turning the unsmitten cheek to an assailant he would kick him into the gutter. He was forced to watch rather than to take part in affairs, and inevitably became critical. But he did not lack sympathy. He loved children: in his household, the sound of his crutch on the stairs was a warning to them that something interesting and exciting was likely to happen. He loved animals, especially that creature, repellent to many, the cat. His cats wrote, by his hand, letters to absent young friends and enclosed souvenirs: "This is a lok of my fer, with best luv of Yors in haste, Puss." He gave a tender sympathy to human sorrow. For himself only was he

¹ C. H. Farnham, *A Life of Francis Parkman*, Boston, 1900, p. 109.

a stoic; hard knocks he thought good for the soul, and he learned to take them without flinching.

In his love of children Parkman resembles Macaulay, and in other respects the two men are not unlike. They share a common limitation. It is the active drama of life which interests them, rather than the inner workings of the human spirit. With both we see figures, sometimes magnificent, sometimes forlorn, moving across the stage, but neither of them calls us to any deep brooding on the mysteries of life. Music did not appeal to Parkman, and he lived without its consolations or those of poetry. "The true aim of life," he wrote, "is not happiness but achievement." But this note of the stoic is not linked with the religious faith which sees in the failure of to-day the promise of the triumph of to-morrow. Parkman could express "a reverent gratitude for Christianity"; he could admire the Jesuit missionary, courting death to save men's souls; he could be impressed by the majestic ritual of the Roman Catholic Church as having "a powerful and salutary effect on the mind"; but he had none of the comfort of a faith which holds that man was not made in vain, and that his medley of wisdom and folly is not without some directing purpose.

Those who have this faith believe that in the phenomena of life there is some redeeming quality of good. They are likely to see in inevitable change more to arouse hope than to cause despair. To Parkman, however, change was hateful. To travel by steam power was "disgusting". To give the vote to women was to rob them of their charm in a sphere which ought to remain remote from the antagonisms and brutalities of politics. Above all, was he fretful against the democracy which took Boston from the sway of dignified gentlemen of Puritan descent to that of the vulgar and flamboyant demagogue of alien origin. Parkman was a gardener who had studied how best to effect improvement in flowers, and he had produced the famous Parkman lily which measured twelve inches in diameter. He applied this experience to condemn democracy:

The art of horticulture is no leveler. Its triumphs are achieved by rigid systems of selection and rejection, founded always on the broad basis of intrinsic worth. The good cultivator propagates no plants but for the best. He carefully chooses those marked out by conspicuous merit; protects them from the pollen of inferior sorts; intermarries them, perhaps, with other varieties of equal vigor and beauty; saves their seed, and raises from it another generation. From the new plants thus obtained he again chooses

the best, and repeats with them the same process. Thus the rose and other plants are brought slowly to their perfect development. It is in vain to look for much improvement by merely cultivating one individual. We cultivate the parent, and look for our reward in the offspring.¹

Here we have the note of the New England aristocrat. Lowell said that Fenimore Cooper had written six volumes "to prove he's as good as a lord". On this subject Parkman never had any doubt. No being who walked the earth was his superior. He shows sometimes an amused, sometimes an angry, resentment at "the sneering Englishman", whose "boisterous and haughty confidence of manner" made him "tolerably hated". Parkman cultivated a more modest demeanour, but he was not less proud. He agreed with the conclusion of a Harvard professor, whose opinion he sought, that "the best class of students are those of families of inherited wealth or easy means; sons of *nouveaux riches* do not make scholars".² This is dangerous doctrine in a democracy, and one may doubt its validity. Do the sons of dukes, more than the sons of the *nouveaux riches*, turn to scholarship? Sometimes Parkman gave to the expression of his views the stimulus of an emphatic oath; so also did George Washington. In the real issues of life he took sides. He was furious during the civil war at "embattled treason" in the South. But he did not become an aloof observer. He felt keenly the passion of life, and this helped the historian in him. From his earliest days he had trained himself to analyse character. The journal of the youth of nineteen is crowded with these efforts to penetrate to the souls of men. They did not make Parkman a cynic, but they made him expert in detecting shams.

Parkman's work has a singular unity; the literary child is father to the man. He is not uneven any more than youth which grows steadily towards manhood is uneven. He grows and he matures. He was not afraid to be irrelevant, if he could picture for his readers a striking personality. If trifles could aid his purpose he dwelt on trifles. "Damn the dignity of history," he said; "straws are often the best materials." His characters became brothers to him and sometimes, as in the case of the irregular or Ranger, Robert Rogers, a brother's love overlooked rather painful defects of character. In Parkman's earlier work

¹ Sedgwick, p. 313.

² Sedgwick, p. 313.

there is not often but sometimes a laboured picturesqueness which provokes a smile:

Years rolled on. France, long tossed among the surges of civil commotion, plunged at last into a gulf of fratricidal war. Blazing hamlets, sacked cities, fields steaming with slaughter, profaned altars, and ravished maidens, marked the track of the tornado. But immediately after this purple patch the reader is carried to another scene, and the writer shows power to arouse interest in the common things of life:

Far aloof from siege and battle, the fishermen of the western ports still plied their craft on the Banks of Newfoundland. Humanity, morality, decency, might be forgotten, but codfish must still be had for the use of the faithful in Lent and on fast days. Still the wandering Esquimaux saw the Norman and Breton sails hovering around some lonely headland, or anchored in fleets in the harbour of St. John; and still, through salt spray and driving mist, the fishermen dragged up the riches of the sea.¹

It is charged against Macaulay that he is sometimes intolerably prolix in description. If he sends a prisoner to the Tower of London, he runs into long paragraphs on the historical associations of the place; in writing of a contemporary such as Lord Holland, he recalls with tiresome iteration the persons who in the past had been visitors at Holland House. Parkman is not free from this defect, but while Macaulay dwells on men Parkman revels in Nature's variety. Of a scene in Florida he says:

It was a paradise for the hunter and the naturalist. Earth, air, and water teemed with life, in endless varieties of beauty and ugliness. A half-tropical forest shadowed the low shores, where the palmetto and the cabbage-palm mingled with the oak, the maple, the cypress, the liquid-ambar, the laurel, the myrtle, and the broad glistening leaves of the evergreen magnolia. Here was the haunt of bears, wild-cats, lynxes, cougars, and the numberless deer of which they made their prey. In the sedges and the mud the alligator stretched his brutish length, turtles with outstretched necks basked on half-sunken logs; the rattlesnake sunned himself on the sandy bank, and the yet more dangerous moccasin lurked under the water-lilies in inlets and sheltered coves. The air and the water were populous as the earth. The river swarmed with fish, from the fierce and restless gar, cased in his horny armor, to the lazy cat-fish in the muddy depths. There were the golden eagle

¹ *Pioneers of France*, p. 233.

and the white-headed eagle, the gray pelican and the white pelican, the blue heron and the white heron, the egret, the ibis, ducks of various sorts, the whooping crane, the black vulture, and the cormorant; and when at sunset the voyagers drew their boat upon the strand and built their camp-fire under the arches of the woods, the owls whooped around them all night long, and when morning came the sultry mists that wrapped the river were vocal with the clamor of wild turkeys.¹

There is no particular reason why this catalogue should not go on over half a dozen pages. This is, however, the early Parkman, and this diffuseness should be compared with the chastened diction of his later years. He thus describes the burial of Montcalm:

In the confusion of the time no workman could be found to make a coffin, and an old servant of the Ursulines, known as Bonhomme Michel, gathered a few boards and nailed them together so as to form a rough box. In it was laid the body of the dead soldier; and late in the evening of the same day he was carried to his rest. There was no tolling of bells or firing of cannon. The officers of the garrison followed the bier, and some of the populace, including women and children, joined the procession as it moved in dreary silence along the dusky street, shattered with cannon-ball and bomb, to the chapel of the Ursuline convent. Here a shell, bursting under the floor, had made a cavity which had been hollowed into a grave. Three priests of the Cathedral, several nuns, Ramesay with his officers, and a throng of townspeople were present at the rite. After the service and the chant, the body was lowered into the grave by the light of torches; and then, says the chronicle, "the tears and sobs burst forth. It seemed as if the last hope of the colony were buried with the remains of the General." In truth, the funeral of Montcalm was the funeral of New France.²

In this passage there is not a superfluous word. Yet the identity of style is clear. Had Parkman written only *Montcalm* and *Wolfe* some of the critics of his work would have been disarmed.

Parkman learned to excel in the delineation of character. We find this quality even in his early works. True, he let himself go when he described Henry IV as a "whiskered satyr, grim from the rack of tumultuous years", but, even then, he could do better than this:

¹ *Pioneers of France*, p. 59.

² *Montcalm and Wolfe*, p. 321.

The bear-hunting prince of the Pyrenees wore the crown of France; and to this day, as one gazes on the time-worn front of the Tuileries, above all other memories rises the small, strong finger, the brow wrinkled with cares of love and war, the bristling moustache, the grizzled beard, the bold, vigorous and withal somewhat odd features of the mountaineer of Béarn. To few has human liberty owed so deep a gratitude or so deep a grudge. He cared little for creeds or dogmas. Impressible, quick in sympathy, his grim lip lighted often with a smile, and his care-worn cheek was no stranger to a tear. He forgave his enemies and forgot his friends. Many loved him, none but fools trusted him. Mingled of mortal good and ill, frailty and force, of all the kings who for two centuries and more sat on the throne of France Henry the Fourth alone was a man.¹

Few are likely to forget Parkman's account of the death of Henry at the hand of Ravaillac:

Following on the footway strode a tall, strong, and somewhat corpulent man, with sinister, deep-set eyes and a red beard, his arm and shoulder covered with his cloak. In the throat of the thoroughfare, where the sculptured image of Henry the Fourth still guards the spot, a collision of two carts stopped the coach. Ravaillac quickened his pace. In an instant he was at the door. With his cloak dropped from his shoulders, and a long knife in his hand, he set his feet upon a guardstone, thrust his head and shoulders into the coach, and with frantic force stabbed thrice at the King's heart. A broken exclamation, a gasping convulsion,—and then the grim visage drooped on the bleeding breast. Henry breathed his last, and the hope of Europe died with him.

Another type of character is La Salle, to whom Parkman was especially drawn, perhaps because his work was done chiefly in what became the United States:

He belonged not to the age of the knight-errant and the saint, but to the modern world of practical study and practical action. He was the hero not of a principle nor of a faith, but simply of a fixed idea and a determined purpose. As often happens with centred and energetic natures, his purpose was to him a passion and an inspiration; and he clung to it with a certain fanaticism of devotion. It was the offspring of an ambition vast and comprehensive, yet acting in the interest both of France and of civilization. Serious in all things, incapable of the lighter pleasures, incapable of

¹ *Pioneers of France in the New World*, pp. 240, 296.

repose, finding no joy but in the pursuit of great designs, too shy for society and too reserved for popularity, often unsympathetic and always seeming so, smothering emotions which he could not utter, schooled to universal distrust, stern to his followers and pitiless to himself, bearing the brunt of every hardship and every danger, demanding of others an equal constancy joined to an implicit deference, heeding no counsel but his own, attempting the impossible and grasping at what was too vast to hold,—he contained in his own complex and painful nature the chief springs of his triumphs, his failures, and his death.¹

Parkman's habit was to sum up the qualities of a leader when that leader was laid in the grave. This is his comment on another of his chief characters:

Frontenac's own acts and words best paint his character, and it is needless to enlarge upon it. What perhaps may be least forgiven him is the barbarity of the warfare that he waged, and the cruelties that he permitted. He had seen too many towns sacked to be much subject to the scruples of modern humanitarianism; yet he was no whit more ruthless than his times and his surroundings, and some of his contemporaries find fault with him for not allowing more Indian captives to be tortured. Many surpassed him in cruelty, none equalled him in capacity and vigor. When civilized enemies were once within his power, he treated them, according to their degree, with a chivalrous courtesy, or a generous kindness. If he was a hot and pertinacious foe, he was also a fast friend; and he excited love and hatred in about equal measure. His attitude towards public enemies was always proud and peremptory, yet his courage was guided by so clear a sagacity that he never was forced to recede from the position he had taken. Towards Indians, he was an admirable compound of sternness and conciliation. Of the immensity of his services to the colony there can be no doubt. He found it, under Denonville, in humiliation and terror; and he left it in honour, and almost in triumph.²

It should be noted that in all these analyses nothing is said that could not be understood by a very simple reader. Even Macaulay is not always easy reading for the untutored. I remember that when a humble friend of mine, quite uneducated, but fond of reading, asked me for an interesting book of history, I gave him Macaulay. A few days later he brought it back, and

¹ *La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West*, p. 430.

² *Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV*, p. 458.

said he could not read it. He did not know why, but I think I did. Macaulay, with all his merit, has an artificial style. He is too allusive, too antithetical, too brilliant for those who can only grasp what is simple. I lent my friend Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe*. He devoured it eagerly, and soon came back asking for more. Within a few weeks he had read the whole dozen volumes. There is no strain in reading Parkman. He is usually as clear and simple as are chapters in the Gospels.

For all his books Parkman can make the claim of the "Introduction" to *The Pioneers of France in North America*: "It has been the writer's aim to exhaust the existing material of any subject treated." We may differ from him, but we cannot ignore him; his thoroughness gives him authority. It is true, however, that he is interested in a limited range of topics. He had studied carefully some phases of the politics of Europe, and was not as ignorant of them as critics have imagined. But they scarcely interested him. His whole heart was given to the American scene. In this American scene it is almost amusing to see how he loves what is picturesque and how he despises the commonplace labour of pioneers. In his book *The Oregon Trail*, he has no word of approval for the hundreds of settlers whom he encountered making their laborious journey to create homes in the far west. His eyes are open only for the Indians, whose savage pageant when on the march fascinates him. In his many volumes he only glances at economic forces. He has no eye for constitutional problems. Roman Catholic readers think his tone toward their church hostile. On the other hand, he is no less hostile to the narrowness of New England Puritanism. What Parkman disliked about both was the use of the arm of the flesh to coerce men into accepting opinions which could be apprehended only by spiritual energies. People with a grievance are apt to be resentful at a story of their wrongs not expressed in terms of ardent sympathy, and the descendants of the exiled Acadians dislike Parkman's narrative. A more serious defect is in his failure to understand the real genius of the French Canadians. He thought them a king-ridden, priest-ridden folk, ignorant, lacking in virility, and ineffective as colonizers. Whatever their defects, they have made it clear that they can clear the forest and till the soil so effectively as in the province of Quebec, and in some parts of the province of Ontario, to surpass and even to drive out the English. In the earlier years the French pioneers had other aims than to till the soil. They were occupying on

the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, on the Ohio, on the Mississippi, and even on the Saskatchewan, the strategic points necessary to create and defend a great empire in America. They made friends with the natives, most of whom were on their side when came the last trial of strength with Britain. Their efforts failed for lack of numbers. Their habit of mind favoured the acceptance of a single central authority in government; and this central authority, the king of France, gave them no adequate support. Is it doubtful that if in numbers the French had equalled the English Canada would to-day be no part of the British Empire?

We have a view of the mature Parkman by Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge, who in his person links politics with historical learning, and is, like Parkman, a member of the circle of the elect in Boston:

I was less than ten years old at the time and I remember seeing, as if it were yesterday, on a brilliant winter's day, a man coming up Beacon Street, attired in a long overcoat, light in colour, and with a fur cap on his head. In each hand he had a heavy cane and, with the aid of his canes, moved with great rapidity, which I suppose is what first arrested my attention. At the lower corner of Beacon Street and Walnut Street, he suddenly stopped, leaned his back against the fence which ran beside the house then, I think, occupied by Mr. Robert Mason, and paused. He rested a few minutes and then started again on his canes and rushed off with the same rapidity. Everything about him was so striking that I never forgot it; in fact, I went home and told my mother of this gentleman whom I had seen walking with canes in that strange way, and I asked her who it was. She was a contemporary of Mr. Parkman within two years, and she at once said, "Oh, that was Frank Parkman."¹

He was crippled, but vigorous and determined. This is a summary of his whole life. We do not know what fame the future may give. But to him Canada should be grateful. She is the prize which went to the victor after the struggle of a century and a half, and he placed this story of her past among the classics of the history of America.

GEORGE M. WRONG

¹ *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings*, May-June, 1923, p. 321.

GLADSTONE'S VIEWS ON BRITISH COLONIAL POLICY

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE'S attitude towards the colonies has hitherto received little attention. Except in Morley's *Life*, his work in this field has been either unnoticed or else largely misinterpreted. This need not occasion surprise. The closing years of his long political career witnessed a decline in popularity of the idealistic liberalism of the mid-nineteenth century. To an age deeply influenced by the latter-day doctrine of force Gladstone's policies, based upon the principles of the earlier period, seemed weak and bordering on treason. People began to "think imperially", and in doing so struck at the men and measures which had laid a deep and broad basis for Britain's Commonwealth of Nations. To the former liberal policy was applied the vague unmeaning term "anti-colonial", and hostile critics accused Gladstone of neglecting the Empire. Yet, it was constructive statesmanship of the highest order to give up the old system and grant freedom to the new settlements in British North America, Australasia, and South Africa. Few steps have been so singularly justified by later events or will prove of greater historical importance.

The men who worked for this change in British colonial policy looked upon Gladstone as one of their leaders. Once converted to the liberal view on this question, he fought bravely in its behalf. To him liberty was the birthright both of the Englishmen beyond the sea and of those who remained at home. The former should be given wide scope for their activities. This was not drifting; on the contrary, it was steering the course recommended by deep political wisdom. If reared in freedom, Gladstone believed the new communities would overcome the difficulties of the early critical years and later remain faithful to the mother country. In his opinion the human ties of love and affection could be depended on for keeping the empire together. As a result in part of his work, Britain's imperial relationship gained that flexibility wherein lies its chief strength.

This lofty idealism is also found in his discussions of colonization and imperial expansion. As regards the former, Gladstone thought that owning overseas possessions added to the economic strength of the Empire; but that the material benefits were small compared with the moral and social benefits to be got from the spread of English ideas and English institutions throughout the world. He was, however, uneasy about the ever-widening boundaries. The burdens grew heavier and the expanding boundaries caused envy and hostility.

Gladstone was early brought into close contact with colonial affairs. During his first years in the House of Commons he served on several select committees dealing with the dependencies, and both at the Colonial Office and at the Board of Trade he had excellent chances to study their needs.¹ That these were not neglected may be learned by reading the notes, minutes, and memoranda in his own hand found among the Colonial Office papers from the brief period he held that secretaryship and his speeches on colonial questions both within parliament and outside.

Some of Gladstone's critics have charged him with a failure to understand Greater Britain. But this was not the opinion of the men who during the critical years of the middle nineteenth century urged colonial reform. One of their leading organs welcomed his appointment to the Colonial Office in 1845.² Edward Gibbon Wakefield believed that Gladstone held "right views" on colonial questions³ and was anxious to publish at least one of his speeches on this subject.⁴ To John Robert Godley he was "the one among our leading statesmen who has most fully considered the question of colonial reform".⁵ C. B. Adderley called

¹ John Morley, *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone* (London, 1903), I, p. 358.

² See the *Colonial Gazette*, Jan. 3 and 24, 1846. *The Times* in a leading article, Dec. 26, 1845, commenting on Gladstone's appointment, said: "Impartial inquiry, and an honest devotion to the duties of office, may confidently be expected; and in these we recognise the promise at least of a better policy."

³ Wakefield to Hinds, May, 1848, in *The Founders of Canterbury*, ed. by E. J. Wakefield (Christchurch, New Zealand, 1868), I, p. 28. (Only one volume appears to have been published.)

⁴ "We earnestly request that you will do us the kindness and the Colonies the service, of letting us have a corrected copy of your speech of last night for immediate publication."—E. G. Wakefield, Wm. Fox, et al. to Gladstone, May 22, 1852 (Original MS., Gladstone Papers, St. Deiniol's Library, Hawarden).

⁵ John Robert Godley, *A Selection from the Writings and Speeches of*, ed. by James Edward Fitzgerald (Christchurch, New Zealand, 1863), p. 33. The quotation is from

Gladstone "the leading colonial statesman", and held him to be "thoroughly conversant with Colonial questions, in all respects most eminently qualified to deal with this subject".¹ And in June, 1874, Sir Henry Parkes of Australia wrote to the then defeated prime minister expressing the colonists' appreciation of his work and policy.²

Almost instinctively Gladstone seems to have grasped a basic cause in the disputes between England and the colonies. He saw that the Englishmen on the outposts had, on many questions, ceased to think and act as did those who were left behind. They had founded a democratic society, while that of England continued to be aristocratic.³ A realization of what this meant was doubtless an important factor in bringing about that great change in his views on colonial policy which took place within the period 1840-1849. One will also note that he joined the reformers shortly after he had, at the Colonial Office, learned to know both the hopeless inefficiency of the existing system and the state of feeling in the colonies. By his friend and brother-in-law, Lord Lyttelton, he had been brought into touch with those who urged reform,⁴ and he later acknowledged his indebtedness to Sir William Molesworth.⁵ The prevailing policy had also been condemned by Burke, and a study of the history of early English and of Greek colonization showed an entirely different state of affairs.⁶

While a Tory Gladstone seems to have been unmoved by the rumblings from beyond the sea, and he had then little faith in the utility of political concessions. In 1837 he denied that grievances existed in British North America and hoped the government would not give up just claims and weaken imperial ties

Godley's letter to Gladstone, Dec. 12, 1849. Having been slightly revised by E. G. Wakefield the letter was published in the *Morning Chronicle* and in the *Spectator*. It was also printed separately as a pamphlet.

¹ C. B. Adderley, *Letter to the Right Hon. Benjamin Disraeli on the Present Relations of England with the Colonies* (New edition, London, 1862), p. 3.

² Original MS., Gladstone Papers.

³ *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 54, col. 730. Debate in the House of Commons, May 29, 1840.

⁴ This is evident from letters, Lyttelton to Gladstone, Nov. 13, 1849; Nov. 25, 1850; and Oct. 23, 1855, MSS. Gladstone Papers.

⁵ At Chester, Nov. 12, 1855; reported in *The Times*, Nov. 14, and later published in W. E. Gladstone, *Our Colonies* (London, 1855), p. 20. Morley gives a long extract from this speech, *Life of Gladstone*, I, pp. 363, 364.

⁶ *Our Colonies*, *passim*.

"for the sake and on the ground of speculative organic changes".¹ Three years later he gave a rather grudging support to the Canadian Union Act. Little, he thought, could be hoped from this measure. He took, on the whole, a gloomy view of the situation. The differences between the colonies and England seemed too great, and responsible government would only hasten the break-up of the Empire. Together with most of the leading statesmen of that day Gladstone voted in favour of the Canadian Act of 1840 in the belief and on the ground, among others, that it would not make the new province self-governing.²

While secretary of state for the colonies, from December, 1845, to June, 1846, his mind was not fully made up on the question of colonial policy. Lord Cathcart was urged to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor, Lord Metcalfe,³ who had fought skilfully against the grant of responsible government to Canada.⁴ It should be remembered, however, that in doing so he had been supported by the cabinet,⁵ by parliament,⁶ by the queen,⁷ and even by at least one leading radical.⁸ The new colonial secretary was hardly free to reverse a policy so universally applauded, even had he desired to do it. On the other hand, the tone of Gladstone's despatches as well as his administrative acts proves that the stand taken in 1837 had been left far behind. Lord Cathcart was ordered to pay "the most studious and ample respect" to the House of Assembly as the organ of Canadian legislative opinion and to recognize that this "must determine the form of Canadian laws and institutions". He must observe strictly the principle of religious and racial equality and not exclude from office even "those ranged in ostensible opposition"

¹ *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 39, col. 1454. Debate, H. of C., Dec. 22, 1837. See also *Ibid.*, Vol. 37, cols. 95-105. Debate, March 8, 1837.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 54, cols. 724-732. Debate, May 29, 1840.

³ Gladstone to Cathcart, No. 14, Feb. 3, 1846. Public Record Office MS. C.O. Canada, 42/531.

⁴ The best recent accounts of this conflict are given by J. L. Morison, *British Supremacy and Canadian Self-Government* (Glasgow, 1919), ch. v; and W. P. M. Kennedy, *The Constitution of Canada* (Oxford, 1922), ch. xv.

⁵ Morison, p. 182.

⁶ Debate, House of Commons, May 30, 1844. *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 75, cols. 31-71.

⁷ Letters, Queen to Lord Stanley, Nov. 2, 1845; Prince Albert to Earl Grey, Aug. 3, 1846.—*The Letters of Queen Victoria*, ed. by A. C. Benson and Viscount Esher (London, 1908), II, pp. 46, 47, 94.

⁸ See speech by Charles Buller in H. of C., May 30, 1844. *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 75, cols. 63-69.

to the government.¹ It was Gladstone's wish that the colonists in New Zealand "should undertake as early and with as little exception as there may be the administration of their own affairs". And he advised the establishment of institutions modelled upon those of England.²

In dealing with the colonies Gladstone shunned that dictatorial attitude which had made Lord Stanley so unpopular. The colonies were advised on matters pertaining to railway legislation, but no hard and fast rules were laid down. Gladstone reasoned with the Canadians on free trade and colonial preferences. Didactic in form and contents, his despatches were uniformly friendly and courteous in their tone.³ The government would indeed regret the adoption by the colony of protection; but it was also admitted that the tariff question might henceforth be left to the local parliament.⁴ He desired to please the colonists, and, in accordance with Canadian wishes, hastened to have opened negotiations for a reciprocity treaty between the United States and British North America.⁵

¹ Gladstone to Cathcart, Feb. 3, 1846. C.O., Canada, 42/531.

² Draft of instructions to Sir George Grey, in Gladstone's own hand, dated Jan. 31, 1846. MS., Gladstone Papers.

³ "[Gladstone] does not seem to be writing for effect, but for mutual understanding on affairs of substantial interest: his urgency is tempered by candour and a courteous deference for the interests and feelings of the colonists. Such a manner alone is one easy and just means of retaining the friendly relations between the colony and the Mother country" (*Spectator*, April 18, 1846).

⁴ With reference to the tariff relations between Canada and the United States, arising from the system of "drawbacks" adopted by the latter, Gladstone said: "Your Lordship is . . . authorised to view the question as one to be determined according to the convictions of the people of Canada, whatever they may be, when constitutionally brought before you in the form of a legislative measure".—To Cathcart, 3 Febr., 1846; No. 17 (Public Record Office MS., C.O., Canada, 42/531). "The desire of Her Majesty's Govt. is, that the Trade of Canada may in all respects approach as nearly to perfect freedom as the disposition of its Inhabitants and the exigencies of the public Revenue there may permit."—Gladstone to Cathcart, March 3, 1846, No. 32, *Ibid.* This statement was repeated in despatch No. 83, June 3, 1846 (C.O. 42/532).

⁵ The plea for a reciprocity treaty was made in an address from the Canadian Legislative Assembly, May 12, 1846. This reached the Colonial Office on May 29; and on June 3 Gladstone wrote privately to Lord Aberdeen, and also asked Stephen to write officially to the Foreign Office, asking that steps should be taken towards a reciprocal trade arrangement between British North America and the United States. Stephen's letter was sent on June 16, and on June 18 Lord Aberdeen instructed Pakenham to "bring this matter under the consideration of the U. States Govt."—Public Record Office MSS., C.O., Canada, 42/532; F.O., America, 5/445. A letter-book copy of Gladstone's letter to Aberdeen was found among the Gladstone Papers.

Having left the Colonial Office, he was soon found with the reformers on all questions but one. The Canadian Rebellion Losses Bill was the exception. He opposed the sanction of this measure believing it meant to compensate rebels for losses suffered while in armed opposition to the government and calculated compromise the honour of the Crown.¹ Before this he had urged the repeal of the Navigation Acts, as injurious to colonial interests,² and he advised the grant of a large share of local freedom to Australasia.

His fully matured views on colonial policy were summed up in the statement, "Every question in which you cannot show an Imperial interest, shall be left to be dealt with and managed by the Colonies themselves".³ To gain this end he would give the colonies a voice in the framing of their own constitutions and the right to amend them later. Their franchise should be fixed on a democratic basis. And he favoured an elective instead of a nominated upper house at least for New Zealand. Among the powers Gladstone wished to have granted to the Australian legislatures were regulation of civil lists and customs tariffs and control over the waste land and of native policy.⁴ The imperial veto should be used but sparingly; and the government should cease to deal with the economic problems of the colonies in strict conformity with English laws and customs. He saw that the needs of a frontier settlement differed widely from those of an old country.⁵ Similarly, the colonial church ought to be set free. In the colonies the demand for religious equality was so strong that, in his opinion, only harm would result from attempts to control the legislation of the various church bodies.⁶

¹ *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 106, cols. 189-225. He also discussed this question in his speech at Chester, Nov. 12, 1855, *Our Colonies*, p. 19.

² *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 99, col. 254. Debate, June 2, 1848.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 122, col. 1213. Debate, June 23, 1852.

⁴ The fullest and clearest exposition of his views on colonial governments Gladstone gave in his speech on the second reading of the "New Zealand Government Bill", May 21, 1852. (*Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 121, cols. 951-974). This speech met with approval both from colonial reformers and directly from the colonies. It was published as a pamphlet. During the years 1849-1852, Gladstone spoke often on colonial subjects. See *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 105, cols. 1128-1133; Vol. 108, cols. 595-600; Vol. 110, cols. 1384-1399; W. S. Childe-Pemberton, *Life of Lord Norton* (London, 1909), p. 87 ff.; A. T. Bassett, *Gladstone's Speeches* (London, 1916), pp. 12-15).

⁵ *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 110, col. 1390. Debate, May 13, 1850.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 124, cols. 1138-1152. Debate on the Canadian Clergy Reserves, March 4, 1853.

By the end of the forties Gladstone held very strongly that the new communities must be founded in freedom. He struck heavy blows at the current idea that they should be trained by slow degrees for self-government. This he called "miserable jargon" to be classed with "the spawn of most mischievous opinions with regard to our colonial policy generally".¹ To apply nursery methods to Englishmen was folly. Thereby they would be trained, not for freedom, but for dependence. The government ought to study the policy of the "golden age" in English colonization, the seventeenth century. Then the colonies were vigorous, self-reliant, and loyal. The charter of Rhode Island Gladstone believed to be the model colonial constitution. Englishmen had been trained at home. "Let them carry their freedom with them, even as they carry their agricultural implements, or anything else necessary to establish them in their new abodes; so let them hold it for themselves, and so let them transmit it to their children. This is the true secret of subduing the difficulties of colonisation."²

A free community enjoys rights, but it has also duties. Chief amongst them, as Gladstone saw, was that of self-defence. "No country," wrote he, "is really free which has its military charges borne by another country."³ Was this anti-colonial? If so Earl Grey, Molesworth, Wakefield, Mills, Adderley, and other staunch friends of the colonies and colonial connections, were guilty of the same crime. Gladstone's wish to withdraw the colonial garrisons did not come from a desire to throw off the colonies, nor was it based wholly upon financial considerations.⁴ He was willing to increase, at least for the time being, the amount spent in Canada, provided the centre of responsibility was shifted from London to Ottawa.⁵ As it was, British troops might be called upon to do police duties under a civil government largely freed from imperial control. Acts of the colonists, or their legislatures, brought about costly frontier wars, the burden of the

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 121, col. 955. Debate, May 21, 1852; Vol. 151, col. 1763, July 19, 1858.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 121, col. 956. See also, Vol. 116, col. 276. Debate, April 15, 1851.

³ Memorandum dated June 5, 1861, sent by Gladstone to Arthur Mills, chairman of the "Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure". Original MS. now in the possession of Colonel Dudley Mills, R.E., Drokess, Beaulieu, Hants.

⁴ "If the system [of colonial defence] gained us millions instead of annually losing them, I should still be against it."—Gladstone to C. B. Adderley, Sept. 24, 1861 (Letter-book copy, Gladstone Papers).

⁵ Gladstone to Cardwell, July 25, 1864 and May 23, 1865 (MSS. copies, Gladstone Papers).

charge of which was thrown upon the taxpayers at home.¹ Furthermore, Wakefield and the New Zealand minister, James E. (afterwards Sir James) Fitzgerald agreed in classing the presence of the imperial troops among the chief causes of native conflicts. A large share of the three or more millions of pounds spent for colonial wars might be called a bribe to keep alive quarrels.² Under these conditions a finance minister even less zealous as a guardian of the Treasury than was W. E. Gladstone would doubtless have urged the cessation of a useless and mischievous expenditure. Nor should it be forgotten that during the sixties military strategists advised concentration of the army on the same ground which forty years later naval strategists used in urging recall of the ships from colonial stations.³ The colonies were not more abandoned in the former instance than in the latter. Gladstone himself helped draft a most explicit assurance that every part of the Empire would be defended "with all the resources at its command".⁴

In common with most men of his age Gladstone thought the colonies would soon become independent. He did not wish to have them go. And the language used by Charles (afterwards Sir Charles) Gavan Duffy in Victoria at the beginning of the seventies aroused Gladstone's wrath. He called it insolent.⁵ "Freedom and voluntaryism" were the means he recommended both for keeping the Empire together and to get a friendly separa-

¹ See his evidence before "Select Committee on Colonial Military Expenditure", June 6, 1861. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1861, Vol. XIII, 423, pp. 255-270.

² This is the tenor of E. G. Wakefield's "Memorandum on Military Defence of Colonies", dated March, 1851, and the case was put more strongly, with special reference to local conditions and the Maori wars, in letters from Fitzgerald of New Zealand, dated Sept. 15, 1864 and Feb. 13, 1865. "I know no person with whose ideas of Colonial Policy, whenever they have been known to me, I have more cordially concurred than yours."—Gladstone to Fitzgerald, April 19, 1865 (MSS., Gladstone Papers). For a recent survey of this question see Sir Charles P. Lucas, *The Empire at War* (London, 1921), I, pp. 76-91.

³ Lucas, *The Empire at War*, I, pp. 77, 184, 185; Paul Knaplund, "Intra-Imperial Aspects of Britain's Defence Question" in *The Canadian Historical Review*, June, 1922, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 120, 121.

⁴ Cardwell to Gladstone, Aug. 30, 1865. Original MS. Gladstone Papers; *Political Speeches in Scotland*, March and April, 1880, revised edition (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 137.

⁵ "The insolence (for such it is) of Mr. Duffy and others I shd' silently pass by as local patriotism in this I think you w'd agree."—Gladstone to Kimberley, *Private*, Dec. 29, 1871 (MS. copy, Gladstone Papers). For the views then advocated by Duffy, see A. B. Keith, *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (Oxford, 1912), I, p. 365; III, 1155, note 1; H. G. Turner, *A History of Victoria* (London, 1904), II, pp. 149, 150.

tion if this should come.¹ Imperial unity did not, in his opinion, depend upon economic interests, or legal enactments, or despatches from Downing Street, but upon ties less tangible yet much stronger: "Common traditions of the past and hopes of the future . . . resemblances in origin, in laws, in manners, in what inwardly binds men and communities of men together."² The imperial government should seek to keep alive the reverence with which the colonists regarded the mother country, to make lasting "the silken ties of love and affection".³ If this were done he believed they would continue "not only to be subjects of the Crown—not only to render it allegiance, but to render it that allegiance which is the most precious of all—the allegiance which proceeds from the depths of the heart of man".⁴

Britain should no longer meddle in the domestic affairs of the colonies. They were to be defended against attacks from without and their foreign relations controlled. Otherwise they must be masters of their own fate. For this reason he, as prime minister, left Canada free to deal with British Columbia⁵ and refused to oversee the spending of a guaranteed loan.⁶ It is true he, for a time, shrank from giving the Australasian colonies the right to impose differential duties. And that for two reasons: He feared it would be against the meaning and intent of some of Britain's commercial treaties and, secondly, it might lead to a break-up of the Empire.⁷ But after two years' hesitancy the right was granted.⁸

Pressure or compulsion ought not to be used for the purpose

¹ Gladstone, *Our Colonies*, p. 21; *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 106, col. 992. Debate, June 26, 1849; *ibid.*, Vol. 200, col. 1902. Debate, April 26, 1870.

² Gladstone to Lord Cathcart, No. 83, June 3, 1846. Public Record Office MS., C.O. Canada, 42/532; *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 186, col. 756, Debate, March 28, 1867; Evidence before "Committee on Col. Milit. Exp.", June 6, 1861. P.P., 1861, Vol. XIII, 423, p. 258.

³ Seventh Midlothian Speech, March 19, 1880. See *Political Speeches in Scotland*, revised ed. (Edinburgh, 1880), pp. 97, 98. Language almost identical to this had been used at Chester, Nov. 12, 1855 (*Our Colonies*, p. 21).

⁴ *Our Colonies*, p. 21. Compare this statement with a similar plea advanced in urging Home Rule for Ireland, April, 1886. *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 304, cols. 1084-1085; and *ibid.*, 4th series, Vol. 10, cols. 1612-1614. Debate, April 6, 1893.

⁵ *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 196, cols. 1126, 1127. Debate, June 1, 1869.

⁶ Reply to Sir Charles Dilke on Canadian Pacific Loan, Aug. 1, 1873. *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 217, cols. 1430, 1431.

⁷ Letter to Kimberley, Dec. 29, 1871 (MS., copy, Gladstone Papers).

⁸ Edward Porritt, *The Fiscal and Diplomatic Freedom of the Dominions* (Oxford, 1922), pp. 213, 214.

of securing colonial aid for imperial defence. Such aid must, Gladstone thought, be freely given and originate in a wish to share the burdens of freedom.¹ By keeping the love of the people in the dominions Britain might "in a day of difficulty and danger . . . obtain assistance and advances that compulsion never would have wrung from them and . . . find that all portions of the . . . empire have one common heart beating with one common pulsation and equally devoted to the honour and interest of this common country".² A hope fulfilled even in his own lifetime, and so splendidly vindicated in the late war.

The principle of self-determination was also applied to the question of unifying or federating the various groups of colonies. While favouring the attempts at consolidation, Gladstone felt the task should be left in the hands of the people concerned. As early as July, 1864, he urged the imperial government to find out whether the British North American colonies could be brought together in a union or federation. Any effort to this end ought to be aided and encouraged "by every means in our power, and upon such terms as may be most agreeable to the people themselves".³ He took a similar view of the situation in Australia⁴ and in South Africa,⁵ and avoided Lord Carnarvon's mistake of forcing a union upon unwilling provinces.

As regards defining more clearly the constitutional relations between Britain and the colonies, Gladstone at one time believed this could be done. In 1849 he thought it possible to draw a line between imperial and colonial interests similar to that fixed by the constitution of the United States between federal and state questions.⁶ However, the attempts to bring this about

¹ *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 214, col. 1534. Debate, March 7, 1873.

² At Leeds, Oct. 8, 1881. See *Foreign and Colonial Policy* (London, 1881), p. 13. He had expressed a similar hope in 1861 before "Committee on Col. Mil. Exp." See Lucas, *The Empire at War*, I, p. 70. However, in "England's Mission" he had thrown doubts on this idea (*Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1878, p. 572).

³ In a confidential cabinet memorandum on the defence of Canada, dated July 12, 1864 (*Gladstone Papers*). For later views see statement in the House of Commons, March 26, 1867, *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 186, col. 756.

⁴ Sir Henry Parkes, *Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History* (London, 1892), I, pp. 325, 326.

⁵ Gladstone to Kimberley, Oct. 26, 1871; and May 24, 1880. For this reason Gladstone did not wish to recall Sir Bartle Frere in 1880. Letter-book copies, Gladstone Papers. See also *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 252, cols. 458-461.

⁶ *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 106, cols. 988, 989. Debate, June 26, 1846. See also speech May 24, 1849; *ibid.*, Vol. 105, col. 960.

failed.¹ Later, he declared himself in favour of drawing closer the bonds which kept the Empire together,² but he apparently thought federation impracticable. "You cannot," he said, "overlook the countless miles of ocean rolling between [the colonies] and us—so unlike the position of the United States."³ Up to the present nothing has happened to prove Gladstone wrong.

Colonization and imperial expansion he viewed with the eyes of a cautious idealist. Britain got material gains from owning and colonizing lands beyond the sea. But these were, he believed, outweighed by the moral and spiritual, by creating "happy Englands" in the distant quarters of this globe. As the mother country of new and vigorous states she gained glory, prestige, influence, and fulfilled her true mission.⁴ In seizing additional territory due regard should be had to their ability to develop it and to the wishes of the people concerned.⁵ The first duty of British statesmen was to better the conditions for the people at home.⁶ Gladstone felt that the burden of Empire was already becoming too heavy.⁷ Care must be taken lest England's strength was sapped by rash foreign adventures.⁸ The "lust and love of territory" he classed among the curses of mankind,⁹ breeders of hatred and war—apprehensions all too well founded.

That annexations might at times be both necessary and useful, he admitted. He was not a narrow doctrinaire. He knew that the controlling element in British expansion was found on the

¹ J. A. Roebuck's motion to this effect, May 24, 1849, was defeated 73 to 116. *Ibid.*, cols. 928-964.

² Statement in the House of Commons, March 22, 1886. *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 303, col. 1501.

³ In the House of Commons, April 26, 1870. *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 200, col. 1904. In a speech at Hawarden, Oct. 11, 1855, he mentioned this obstacle to a closer union (*The Times*, Oct. 18, 1855).

⁴ *Our Colonies*, pp. 9-11; W. E. Gladstone, "England's Mission" in the *Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1878, p. 572.

⁵ *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 212, cols. 215-217. Debate on Fiji Islands, June 25, 1872; *ibid.*, Vol. 267, cols. 1148-1194, March 17, 1882; Vol. 277, cols. 727, 728, March 16, 1883 ". . . it is not desirable for this nation, or for any nation, to possess an extent of territory without bounds and without reference to your power of turning it to account" (*Our Colonies*, pp. 5-6).

⁶ *Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1878, pp. 569-571.

⁷ See speech at the Town Hall, Liverpool, Oct. 12, 1864. Reported in *The Times*, Oct. 13. This idea was repeatedly stated by him. See also "Kin beyond Sea" in the *North American Review*, Sept., 1878.

⁸ *Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1878, p. 572.

⁹ *Our Colonies*, p. 7.

frontiers. The farmers crossed the boundaries in search for better, cheaper, or simply more land. Traders went out among savage tribes. These movements could neither be stopped nor regulated. They were the acts of an enterprising people. Soon cries went up for the protection either of British subjects or of those whom they exploited, and the government was forced to step in.¹ Nevertheless, Cecil Rhodes and other empire-builders found Gladstone slow to yield to their prayers.²

There may have been little new or original in the views on the Empire which Gladstone presented, but he alone amongst the reformers had the chance to apply them in administrative practice. Did he understand the temper of young Britain? He knew that it was unlike that of the old, and thereby showed an insight rarely owned by statesmen of his or any other age. The psychological change which an emigrant undergoes upon leaving the old home and settling in a new land is too deep and too subtle to be learned from books or from a casual visit. And those born on the frontier are apt to be still further removed from the old pattern. Old England can never be reproduced in North America, or in Australasia, or in South Africa. Attempts to this end must fail, as did Lord Grey's plan to reproduce in Canada the English village³ and his effort to copy Prince Eugene's Austro-Turkish military cordon in Kaffraria. By appreciating even dimly the difference between the colonial society and that of England, and especially the democratic bias of the former, Gladstone grasped a fundamental element in colonial policy. Under the condition existing seventy years ago a refusal of self-government would have broken the Empire. This he knew, and upon the knowledge he acted. With the experience of the late war before us, was he wrong in emphasizing the value of the human element in the relation between Britain and her colonies? Judging by the results of the so-called "anti-colonial" policy applied to the distant provinces and the "strong" policy used nearer at home, Britons have cause to rejoice with Burke that "through a wise and salutary neglect a generous nature has been suffered to take her own way to perfection".

PAUL KNAPLUND

¹ *Hansard*, 3rd series, Vol. 267, cols. 1191, 1192. Debate, March 17, 1882. That annexations were sometimes necessary Gladstone admitted even in his anti-expansionistic broadside, "England's Mission" (*Nineteenth Century*, Sept., 1878, p. 567).

² Basil Williams, *Cecil Rhodes* (London, 1921), pp. 236-237.

³ Grey to Elgin, Dec. 31, 1846, No. 11 (Public Record Office MS., C.O., Canada, 42/534).

MEARNS AND THE MIRAMICHI: AN EPISODE IN CANADIAN ECONOMIC HISTORY

A MAIN difficulty in writing economic history is that those events which concern economic policy and constitutional or social grievances are much more fully reported than those which concern the changing evolution of industry and commerce. Especially is this true of trade relations between Great Britain and her colonies. For events which to the colonies constituted a definite epoch in economic development were to those firms in the old country which had colonial establishments nothing more than a passing phase in their search for raw materials. Canada has passed through four stages of development. Stage one was marked by the establishment of the Atlantic fisheries and the fur trade between the white man and the Indian; stage two was represented by the self-sufficient rural economy of the *habitants* of Quebec; stage three was the exploitation of the primary products of the soil by the United Empire Loyalists and the British settlers, largely with the aid of British capital (roughly from 1800 to 1867); stage four is the modern era of a Canadian West specialized in wheat production and a Canadian East diverted to manufacture (much of it originating with American branch houses) and to the provision of banking and distributive facilities for the West.

Most fortunately, there has been published recently a book written by a Liverpool ship-owner whose firm was actively interested in the third stage of the above evolution, *A History of our Firm, being some account of the firm of Pollok, Gilmour and Co. and its offshoots and connections, 1804-1920*, by John Rankin (Liverpool: Henry Young, 1921). The firm flourishes to-day under the name of Rankin, Gilmour and Co. (R.G. & Co.); but as the book was printed for private circulation, it is not likely that many Canadian readers will have seen it.

In the first part of the nineteenth century, Pollok, Gilmour and Co. were the leading ship-builders and timber-merchants in New Brunswick. About 1870, however, their colonial connections were

allowed to lapse. To-day Rankin, Gilmour and Co. are ship-owners only. "When I entered the office [September, 1861]," says the author, "the business was entirely with British North America. The United States southern ports were then closed by the war and the New Orleans and Mobile houses were inoperative. To-day our business is practically only that of steam ship-owners, and practically the only warranty in the steamers' insurance policies runs: 'No British North America' [this on account of the dangers of the St. Lawrence], which means that we have a world wide range of ports where we may trade to, except the ports of British North America. The irony of it!" To the growth of this firm one small Scottish village made an astonishing contribution. From Mearns in Renfrewshire came the founder, Allan Gilmour senior; and after him a stream of Gilmours, Rankins, Ritchies, and others. Some went to Glasgow, some to Liverpool, some to Canada. The last generally returned to the old country, which to them was still their home; and fortunes made in colonial or foreign trade were sometimes expended by their descendants in the costly pastime of land-owning. The parent firm endured from 1804 to 1873. In 1804 Allan Gilmour was a small timber merchant in Mearns. In 1805 he began business in Glasgow with two partners, the brothers Pollok. The firm soon enjoyed a considerable import business in tar, hemp, flax, and timber, which came mostly from the Baltic. But after several voyages to Canada Allan Gilmour realized the importance of its timber resources, and in 1812, when Baltic supplies were still obstructed by Napoleon's continental system, he opened a branch on the Miramichi in New Brunswick. Its success led to other "foreign" branches (as the firm always called them), at St. John, 1822, Quebec, 1828, Montreal, 1828, Restigouche, N.B., 1833, Bathurst, N.B., 1835. The parent firm supplied the capital, and Gilmour himself selected the staffs from good Scotchmen whom he periodically came out to inspect.

"Till 1839 all matters, including domestic, concerning the foreign houses and their stores, fell to be dealt with at Glasgow. Spring and Autumn orders for these stores would be a heavy matter; except absolute provisions, everything had to come from this side to meet the wants of small communities on the other. When the foreign houses began ship-building (as will be recorded below), all but the wood itself for the various shipyards had to go from this side. The store requisition sheets would literally cover everything from a needle to an anchor" (Rankin, 22).

After the retirement of Allan Gilmour in 1833 the control over the foreign houses became less close; and the business was shared between Glasgow and Liverpool, in which latter place the firm had in 1838 converted an agency into a house, Rankin, Gilmour and Co. The Glasgow house took the ship management and the ship accounts, the Liverpool house the financing of the foreign houses and the sale of their products (ships and timber) to ship-building clients in Liverpool. The Glasgow house in time dwindled to nothing, the partners there holding conservatively to wooden ships. The last of these was transferred to Liverpool in 1873, to be added to the iron fleet of Rankin, Gilmour and Co., which was henceforth the effective descendant of the original partnership.

We may trace briefly the fortunes of some of the colonial offshoots from the parent stem.

1. Gilmour, Rankin and Co., Miramichi (1812-1870). When operations were opened, this region was almost virgin forest, and the site of the establishment at Douglastown, opposite Chatham, had itself to be cleared. In this sparsely inhabited district the firm had to act as general suppliers in addition to being employers of labour. Sugar and molasses were brought from the West Indies, pork from Boston or the province of Canada, tea and biscuit from the old country; only the fish and game were provided locally.

The branch began as timber merchants, cutting lumber in their concessions and handling it at Douglastown. To this it added ship-building, and soon found itself in rivalry with the brothers Cunard. The rivals, each having its own clients, supplied other builders with goods, materials, and cash advances; and at the end of the season despatched their clients' crafts to Liverpool, the market then for the sale of soft-wood ships.

The leading spirit in the Miramichi enterprise was Alexander Rankin. After his death Richard Hutchison of Mearns was the sole resident partner until 1870, when the business mills and lands were made over to him by the home partners. In Alexander Rankin's time there were two memorable events. In 1825 Douglastown, like Newcastle, was destroyed by the great Miramichi fire. Coming from the Baie des Chaleurs the fire swept down to the Richibucto, one hundred miles south, and raged over eight thousand miles of forest. Many of the vessels in the Miramichi caught fire, and three were gutted. The cattle took refuge in the river. The fish were driven on to the shore by the floating embers. Even the snakes crawled for the clearings. The whole

of Gilmour, Rankin's premises disappeared, save one wooden shanty, in which was found a corpse.

The second event was as sweeping for the firm, but not so disastrous for the province. In 1850 the whole of the office staff set off for California to dig for gold.

2. Robert Rankin and Co., St. John, N.B. (1822-1876). "From 1822 to 1860," says a St. John newspaper of 1894, "Robert Rankin and Co. were at the head of St. John merchants . . . they imported for at least over half of the merchants of St. John. In 1853 they loaded 130 square rigged vessels" (Rankin, 68). The firm did not operate a ship-yard directly, but financed a certain Mr. Thomson, a few of whose boats were taken into the firm's fleet, while the rest were sent home to be sold in Liverpool.

Robert Rankin himself returned to England in 1838 to take charge of the Liverpool house, over which he presided till 1863. He became a leader in Liverpool commercial life, being chairman of the Mersey Dock and Harbour board in 1862. An ancient rivalry was buried when his daughter Annie married a McIver of the Cunard line. It was this lady who, in the days before cafés, persuaded the Cunard Company to provide luncheons for their employees on the office premises at cost price. After 1870 the St. John house fell on bad times and perished.

3. Allan Gilmour and Co., Quebec (1828-1878). This Allan Gilmour was a nephew of the founder. The timber storage ground and pond were at Wolfe's Cove just above Quebec, and Allan Gilmour added a shipyard which was in use down to 1870. After 1870 the business was divided. One branch operated mills at Trenton on Lake Ontario, which subsequently went into liquidation; a second branch operated the Gatineau mills on the Ottawa, which still survive. The trade of the latter was mainly in sawn timber with the United States.

4. William Ritchie and Co., Montreal (1828-1879). Montreal then as now was the financial stronghold of Canada. It was also the provisioning centre. This house therefore acted as banker for all the foreign concerns, and saw to the New Brunswick as well as to the "Canadian" lumber camps. The Montreal firm and the Quebec firm had identical partners and were very closely connected with a third firm, which was opened at Ottawa under yet another Allan Gilmour. While the Montreal firm was in existence the work was divided between Montreal and Ottawa as follows. Montreal attended to the book keeping and provisioning of the up country mills; while Allan Gilmour of Ottawa

managed them. However, the defalcations of an officer in 1877, caused by speculations in pork, brought the Montreal firm into liquidation.

By 1880 all the foreign connections of Pollok, Gilmour and Co. of Glasgow, now Rankin, Gilmour and Co. of Liverpool, had been given up. Why was this? The political analogy fails. It was not that the colonial branches outgrew their youthful dependence, but rather that, with the decay of wooden ship-building, there was no immediate inducement to continue the connection. The timber-built ships had been a literal bond of union across the Atlantic. Furthermore, the structure of a private partnership did not lend itself to the multiplication of business risks. By 1860 the senior partners of the second generation were growing old, and their juniors were shy of assuming the extra commitments which would fall on them if on the death of a senior the latter's capital were suddenly withdrawn from the business. If a new business was to be constructed out of the remnants of the ship-building business in Canada, much capital and personal attention on the spot would have been indispensable. Finally, the parent establishment at Liverpool was itself developing on lines which made a colonial connection less inviting. From being a general merchant and carrier it was becoming a carrier only. In the old days it had its yards and warehouses at which it handled timber, cotton, and other merchandise. After 1870 it fell into line with the new structure which the import business generally was assuming. It became a shipper only, leaving to the broker the work of merchandizing and to private warehouse-owners the work of storage. The contact which the heads of the business formerly maintained by engaging in a number of functions industrial, commercial, and shipping, they maintain now by a seat on the directorates of allied concerns. Thus the brother of the author, Robert Rankin II, was towards the end of his career a director of the Standard Marine Insurance Company, a director of the Midland Railway, chairman of the Docks and Quays Committee of the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, and chairman of the Pacific Steam Navigation Company. Similarly the author is a director of various companies and chairman of that highly important naval service, Lloyd's Registry of Shipping (Liverpool).

C. R. FAY

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

SIR GUY CARLETON AND HIS FIRST COUNCIL¹

THE publication in the *Constitutional Documents* of Carleton's letter to Shelburne, October 26, 1766, the remonstrance of members of the Council to Carleton, and Carleton's reply,² have probably left a totally wrong impression of the relations between Carleton and his Council in the opening months of his administration.

The custom, established by Murray, of holding regular weekly councils was roughly broken by Carleton. After the formal sessions of September 24, 25, and 26, there was only one meeting until December 1, and it was irregularly constituted. This session of October 9 was the cause of the remonstrance, which was followed by a serious quarrel.

The incident which precipitated the trouble was a sort of commercial war between two groups of merchants. In 1762, Murray had given Thomas Dunn and John Gray a lease of the King's Domain, or the King's Posts, the most important of which were Tadoussac and Chicoutimi. In 1765, however, other merchants, appealing to the Proclamation of October 7, 1763, invaded the preserve of Dunn and Gray. The result was confusion and strife. Should the Proclamation, which was general, apply to something so special and apart as the King's Posts? In 1768, it was decided at home that Dunn and Gray should be undisturbed in their lease, and they were given compensation for the injury they suffered from the operations of independent merchants in the King's Domain from 1765. Meanwhile the Council in Canada was continually struggling with this knotty problem. Before Murray's departure, in defiance of the orders of the Governor and Council, George Allsopp and some of his friends proceeded to erect rough buildings in the King's Domain. In 1786, in the

¹ Apart from the *Constitutional Documents*, edited by Shortt and Doughty, the *Canadian Archives Report*, 1888, and an earlier number of this REVIEW, all the references are to documents in the Manuscript Room of the Canadian Archives.

² 2nd ed., pp. 276-279.

interval between the departure of Murray and the arrival of Carleton, the matter was discussed in council presided over by Lieutenant-Colonel Irving, who was in charge of the government. On August 8, the Council ordered the removal of the buildings, by force if necessary.¹ This action of the Council was unassailable. If the Proclamation did not apply to the disputed territory, Allsopp and his followers were clearly wrong. On the other hand, if it did apply, they were just as much in the wrong, for the Proclamation forbade any buildings on the lands reserved for the Indians. Here the matter stood when Carleton landed.

As soon as Carleton had taken over the government, the independent merchants appealed to him against the decree of August 8. What did Carleton do? Did he summon the whole Council, and lay the matter before them for a full discussion? No, but through Cramahé, his private secretary, he called together half of the Council, and with this half proceeded to business.² The record of this meeting was entered in the council book as the minutes of an ordinary council meeting duly signed by Carleton. This truncated Council suspended the just order of the full Council of August 8, and appointed themselves, minus the lieutenant-governor, a committee to investigate the whole problem. Such was the meeting of October 9, 1766.³

What of the other half of the Council? One of these was Dunn, and his absence is not surprising. But the other four, Adam Mabane, Walter Murray, Francis Mounier, and James Cuthbert, were not interested parties. Naturally they were greatly alarmed by their exclusion from this first meeting for regular business, a meeting where a serious decision had been taken. Two rumours now heightened their alarm. One was that a mandamus from the King gave precedence in the Council. None of these gentlemen had a mandamus. The other rumour was still more serious. It was spread by Eleazar Levy, who had been at odds with Murray, but was now in with Carleton and Masères, and was to the effect that these four were to be left off the Council permanently.⁴

¹ Quebec Legislative Council, B, Part II, p. 266.

² Shelburne MSS., Vol. 64, p. 115, Mabane to Murray, Oct. 21, 1766; Q. 7, p. 202, Memorial of Irving and Mabane, in Irving to Hillsborough, Oct. 1, 1770. Cramahé had by this time deserted his much abused friend, Governor Murray..

³ Que. Leg. Coun., B, Part II, pp. 282, 283.

⁴ Q. 7, p. 220, Memorial Cit.; Shelburne MSS., Vol. 64, p. 112, Copy of a Letter from Quebec, Sept. 30, 1766. This unsigned letter is undoubtedly by Maseres. The

But how did Irving become associated with this nervous quartet in the remonstrance? It occurred quite naturally. He was their friend, and they appealed to him. As the officer who had just turned over to Carleton the responsibility of government, he might be expected to advise his successor on conditions and procedure. Indeed, such was his duty. From all the records that have been left, one gathers the impression that Irving was a simple, straightforward soldier. As soon as his friends came to him, he adopted their cause. Very properly, he went straight to Carleton. He told the latter how "mortified" the four were to be left off the Council, and that they purposed presenting a remonstrance upon the subject. It was no curt interview, but a long and friendly conversation while the two were walking together in the garden. Probably Carleton was suddenly taken aback when confronted with the seriousness of his action three days before. He hedged. To the statement that the four were "mortified," he replied that "they had no reason, it was no Council", an allusion to the irregular way in which it was called and constituted. When Irving went on to say that they did not believe that a mandamus gave precedence, and that in any event they were justified in contending for their rights, Carleton answered, "To be sure". The conversation ended with Carleton asking Irving to carry to the unhappy four an invitation to dinner, so that they might all talk it over together. When reporting the result of his visit to the Castle, Irving did not go into details, but merely informed his friends that their exclusion was "an accident".¹ Still, it was a highly important business. If a governor could call to Council just whom he pleased,² he could reduce it to the mere echo of his will. So there was no thought

attitude of the five on the mandamus question was probably based on the relative positions in the Council of Irving and Cramahé. The minutes for Sept. 24, 1766, read: "Presented a mandamus under the sign manual of His Majesty dated at St. James's the 21 of June 1766 requiring the admission of the Honourable Hector Theophilus Cramahé Esquire as a member of this Council according to the Rank and Precedence in which he stands by the appointment of James Murray." This left Irving senior to Cramahé, even though the former had no mandamus. One might gather from the *Constitutional Documents*, p. 279 n., that he had received one. This is due to an error in copying the document, which, by the way, is not cited. It is in Q. 3, p. 361.

¹ Q. 7, pp. 218, 219, Irving to Walter Murray, Mabane, Mounier and Cuthbert, Dec. 3, 1766.

² For doing this very thing Haldimand was reprimanded in 1779 (*Constitutional Documents*, 2nd ed., p. 705).

about abandoning the remonstrance, which was presented on the following day, October 13.

Did Carleton "blow up" on receiving the remonstrance? No, he promised the aggrieved councillors a written answer: there was no sign of hostility. According to Irving, Carleton "did not seem displeased with" the remonstrance, and Irving's impression must have been true, for Carleton did not cancel the dinner he was to give them all the next night. Carleton was in a tight corner. He had committed a grave blunder, and in his first attempt to cover it up, he had stumbled into an impossible position. "It was no Council" was not convincing. Therefore Carleton was at bay at his own dinner table, and he struck out recklessly. Irving, he said, had misunderstood him; it was not an accident, it was not unintentional. "He was determined to support the King's Prerogative in calling to Council as few or as many Members, as he thought convenient." To Cuthbert, he said that he intended to have all who signed the remonstrance removed from the Council. In his anger, and face to face with those he had slighted, Carleton had enunciated a dangerous doctrine. Before they separated that stormy night, Carleton was apparently dared into promising again to give a written reply.¹ But this, which appears in the printed *Documents* to have been given at the time, was not delivered for another six weeks, and it would have been better for Carleton's reputation had it never been written at all.

Meanwhile, how did Carleton justify himself to the government at home? Writing to the Board of Trade on October 18,² he referred to the order of August 8 as flagrantly unjust, and to its suspension, as if he had done it all himself, without any reference to the Council or any part of it. Then, he continued, "That I might the better be informed of the nature of this affair, I ordered five members of Council . . . to meet and collect for me what had been ordered by Government therein. I must also inform Your Lordships that on my arrival I found thirteen members in the Council Book. These two circumstances occasioned the Remonstrance. . . . The members not called and then in town were, Mr. Dunn, a party concerned, Mr. Walter Murray, Mr. Mabane, Surgeon, who had his hospital to attend, Mr.

¹ Shelburne MSS., Vol. 64, p. 95, Irving to Murray, Oct. 24, 1766; *Ibid.*, p. 116, Mabane to Murray, Oct. 21, 1766; Q. 7, p. 203, Memorial cit.

² Q. 3, pp. 393-398.

Mounier, a trader, who on account of absence had not been sworn in since my arrival, and Captain Cuthbert, of whose right to a seat in Council I had then some doubts. These four last with Lieutenant Colonel Irving signed the Remonstrance. I shall only observe that this gentleman, who first signed and presented it, never complained but in the Remonstrance, tho' present at every transaction. That Your Lordships may the better understand the nature of this Remonstrance, I enclose the minutes of the Council to the present date, also the minutes of the committee, tho' at first only intended for my own information, with all the papers alluded to." These last included the remonstrance and "the answer I purpose giving". A week later he wrote the dispatch printed in part in the *Constitutional Documents*.¹

Behind all this lurks the shifty politician sliding out of a bad scrape. Carleton threw the Home government, which by the way was his very good friend, completely off the scent. He adroitly evaded the issue raised by the meeting of October 9. Was it a Council, or was it not? Carleton knew very well. So he did not mention the meeting at all. In his letters he focused attention on the committee. In "the answer I purpose giving" he was more patently dishonest. He "side-stepped" the whole charge, which of course he could not face. It was not a question of what company he should keep, but that is what he pretended was their demand. He tried to cover up his tracks also by casting aspersions upon his opponents. He strongly implied that Irving had been lying, and he told a deliberate falsehood when he said that Irving "never complained but in the Remonstrance". The excuse he gave on the 18th for excluding Mabane is ludicrous, quite different from that he gave a week later,—a torrent of abuse which squared with neither the past nor the future of Mabane. The mention of Dunn was a subtle red herring.

Meanwhile, what was the situation in Quebec? The promised reply to the remonstrance was not given and no Council was held. Why? Carleton knew that the reply which he had already sent home was no reply, and so he could not deliver it. Had he done so he would have only committed himself deeper. But he left the Home government with the impression that it had been delivered and that it had silenced the opposition. The other point, the absence of Council meetings, he could not conceal, so he explained it by saying that it was "to give them time to cool

¹ P. 276.

and reflect". This was another dishonest stroke. He dared not face the whole Council, for when Irving joined the unhappy quartet there was now a majority¹ in the Council against the lieutenant-governor, and they had a just grievance. This situation might have continued indefinitely, had not events, most fortuitously, presented Carleton with a plausible excuse to cut off the heads of the opposition.

This arose out of the arrest of the six Montreal men charged with assaulting Thomas Walker. To form a just opinion of what followed, it is necessary to keep several things in mind. The accused were some of the most respected and prominent citizens of Montreal. One was a judge, another a prominent merchant, three were officers in the army, the sixth was a French Canadian of great property and famous family. Four of the Englishmen were "married into the best Canadian families".² They were all arrested in an unnecessarily brutal manner, and on information supplied by a worthless scoundrel. They were all innocent, and almost everybody who had lived in Canada knew it. One can well imagine the wave of indignation which swept through the society of the colony, French as well as English. Of course they must be bailed, and to this end they were shipped to Quebec, where they arrived on Friday, November 21. On the following day, they appealed to Chief Justice Hey, but in vain. Though he sympathized with them, he declared that they could be bailed only with the consent of Walker, who refused his consent. It must be said in Hey's behalf that he pleaded with Walker for over an hour, but the latter remained adamant, insisting that his life would not be safe, were the prisoners to be bailed. It was night before Hey gave his reply to the prisoners. At once there was a great outcry, for it was said that the prisoners were to leave the next afternoon to go back to jail in Montreal. There was a certain exasperated feeling abroad. If the chief justice could bail them with Walker's consent, why could he not do it without? If, indeed, he could not bail them, could not the rigour of their imprisonment be lightened? In the excitement of the hour, a suspicion grew that Hey's refusal "might proceed rather from a point of delicacy or fear of censure, than from any positive principle in the law forbidding it". This was quite a possible view, for the prisoners' counsel insisted that the chief justice had the

¹ This is based upon a calculation of those who could attend.

² Q. 7, p. 210. Memorial cit.

power, and it was generally known that the pressure of the Home government was behind the prosecution. It was most natural, under these circumstances, that the prisoners and their friends should think of appealing to the lieutenant-governor. This they did in haste on Sunday morning, for no time was to be lost. The prisoners sent a petition, and a host of their friends and others interested in their cause flocked to sign the supporting memorial. Both documents were drawn up so quickly that little care was expended on their form. Both, therefore, failed perhaps to express fully the meaning that was behind them. On one point they were very explicit. This was the absurdity of the grounds advanced by Walker for blocking bail. Those who signed the supporting petition offered to go bail "to the utmost extent of our fortunes (nay even with our lives) as well for their appearance . . . as for the safety of Mr. Walker's person". But there was a secondary idea, which was not so clearly stated, though Carleton acknowledged it in his reply to the prisoners. It was that the prisoners, if they could not be bailed, might have the condition of their imprisonment improved. The supporting petition was signed by six members of the Council, several justices of the peace, the principal merchants of Quebec, of both races, and a swarm of officers. It had not the slightest smell of party; both factions, to be mentioned later, joined in this memorial. The petitioners were careful of Carleton's sensibilities. A messenger was sent to apprise the lieutenant-governor of what they were about to do, and, as he returned without any warning or advice against the proceeding, it went ahead. Major Mills, a councillor and a friend of Carleton, suggested that it would "be disagreeable to go in numbers", and so "it was instantaneously decided a few only should go". Carleton seems to have received the petitioners and their documents in a friendly spirit. To the request that some indulgence might be shown the prisoners if they could not be bailed, he gave an encouraging reply.¹

It was in these appropriate Sunday activities of November 23 that Carleton was to find the excuse for which he had been lying in wait. But he did not recognize it for several days. On Monday the 24th, he wrote to Shelburne:² "Last Friday six gentlemen

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 204-211; *Ibid.*, pp. 234-238, Jones, Irving and Morris to Carleton, Nov. 29, 1766; Murray Papers, Vol. 3, pp. 191-192, Mabane to Murray, Nov. 30, 1766; *Can. Arch. Report*, 1888, pp. 1-14; *supra*, Vol. III, p. 233, Burt, A. L., *The Mystery of Walker's Ear*.

² Q. 3, p. 391.

were brought here prisoners . . . they came here to offer bail, which the Chief Justice at present thinks cannot be admitted, but as some of their lawyers have declared the case is bailable, Mr. Hey has agreed to hear their reasons for that opinion to-morrow." He did not mention the petition of the day before. The legal argument on Tuesday failed to move Hey. Accordingly, on Wednesday the 26th, Carleton replied by letter to the prisoners:¹ "I sincerely lament (and am convinced the Chief Justice doth also lament) that the circumstances of your case will not suffer him to enlarge you. . . . As unfortunately the person to whom the King has delegated his authority in these matters has found himself obliged, in compliance with his duty to make this final declaration, my interposing my authority, and arbitrarily wresting you out of the hands of the Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, would be irregular, illegal, and in my opinion what would merit His Majesty's highest displeasure. As to the other point in your memorial, the humanity of the Chief Justice will undoubtedly bring on your trial as soon as may be, and in the meanwhile order your confinement to be made as little irksome to you as possible. . ." Up to this point everything seems to have passed in a very friendly mood.

But on the fourth day the storm broke. On Thursday the 27th, like a bolt from the blue, came a notice to Irving and Mabane that they were dismissed from the Council. On Friday the 28th, the long promised reply to the remonstrance was at last delivered.² On Saturday the 29th, Carleton's pen was in full action. He wrote letters to Shelburne, to the Board of Trade, and to Irving, and in the general orders of the day he inserted a special item for Mabane.

In his letter to Irving,³ he quoted his reply to the prisoners as far as the word "displeasure", thus stiffening its tone, and then he proceeded: "After explaining my opinion of the request, I must say a word or two as to the measures taken to enforce it. That many persons who have subscribed did not know the evil tendency of interfering in numbers in the free course of justice, I sincerely believe, both from the good opinion I have of them, and their own declaration since; but that gentlemen who have the honor to be of the King's Council should not know that law

¹ Q. 4, pp. 38-39.

² Q. 7, p. 208. Memorial cit. The copy in the Council Book is also endorsed as delivered Nov. 28th.

³ Q. 4, pp. 44-46.

and justice were to be obtained for the sake of justice and law alone, I did not expect; that any of them should particularly exert themselves to procure numbers, should appoint them to assemble about the time of coming from Divine Service on Sunday, should take post in the streets, and importune people returning to their homes with an intent to go in numbers to the Lieutenant-Governor, and in this manner to enforce such a request, that Mr. Mabane then one of the Council and a Judge of the Common Pleas, should tell me in excuse for this conduct, that he thought the greater the numbers, the more likely he was to succeed, as if by numbers he thought to intimidate, and so make me swerve from my duty, as far as he had done from his; this, as it directly tends to overturn law, justice, and good government, appears to me very extraordinary from a Councillor and a judge. I must just add for your information, Sir, that had I thus wrested this power out of the hands of the Chief Justice, I should have been guilty of disobedience to the spirit and meaning of the twentieth article of His Majesty's Instructions, which you have had some time in your hands. The readiness with which almost all desisted from coming up on hearing my opinion of such a proceeding is a proof to me of the good intentions even of those I don't know. . . ." To Shelburne,¹ and to the Board of Trade,² he gave a short account of Sunday's doings, and then he went on: "This has been the first open attempt to disturb the peace, and interrupt the free course of justice, since my arrival in the province, and as it was headed by so many officers and persons of some distinction here, I judged it the more necessary for His Majesty's service to make some example, thereby to deter all from such disorders, and particularly to convince the Canadians such practices are not agreeable to our laws and customs, as they are taught to believe and thereby induced to subscribe sentiments very different from their natural disposition; for I look on such methods of deciding affairs as very dangerous in any of His Majesty's provinces, but would become more especially so in this, was it suffered to grow up into strength; for these reasons I have removed Lieutenant-Colonel Irving and Mr. Mabane surgeon to the garrison from being of the Council, as they were zealously active in promoting these disorders. . . . I would have brought it before the Council, had not six members out of nine present in town

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-42.

² C.O. 42, 6, pp. 2-4.

been concerned in the same misdemeanor. . . ." For Mabane's benefit, the following appeared in the military orders of the same day: "Mr. Adam Mabane, Surgeon of the Garrison of Quebec, to cease those discourses and practices calculated to disturb the peace and tranquility of the province and misrepresent the actions and intentions of the Lieutenant-Governor, on pain of being suspended from his employments and prosecuted according to law."¹

This is the whole of Carleton's own defence. What is it worth? Was it indeed against Carleton's known opinion that the petition was organized and presented? Of all those present on that eventful Sunday morning, Mills alone seems to have had some misgivings about Carleton's possible attitude, for something had passed between them on the subject. Irving and Mabane were totally ignorant that they might incur the lieutenant-governor's displeasure. If any one was to be punished for signing the petition it should have been Mills. Carleton assailed Irving with article 20 of his instructions. This is worth special note. The instructions referred to were those issued to Murray. They had been three months in Irving's hands, but he had given them up on Carleton's arrival and they were now in the latter's hands. Irving replied meekly that he had never understood the instructions so, "even the article quoted".² Which was right? Article 20 forbade the governor himself filling the office of judge or justice of the peace. With a little straining, this could be construed to prevent the governor ever bailing prisoners. But in reality the petitioners asked for an alternative. They did not intend to commit themselves absolutely to the granting of bail. Carleton acknowledged this at the time and even as late as Wednesday, when he replied to the prisoners, but by Saturday he shut his eyes to it. This was another reason for clipping his quotation in the letter to Irving. Again he had "side-stepped" the issue, for article 20 had nothing to do with showing consideration to the prisoners during their confinement. The charge against Mabane was childish, and in any case it was based on a misunderstanding. It seems that it was Mounier who first uttered the words about the value of numbers, and that Mabane simply reported these words to Carleton.³ Yet Mounier was left on the Council, while Mabane was dropped.

¹ Murray Papers, Vol. 3, p. 191, Mabane to Murray, Nov. 30, 1766; Q. 7, p. 209 Memorial cit.

² *Ibid.*, p. 228, Irving to Carleton, Dec. 6, 1766.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 231, Mabane to Carleton, Dec. 5, 1766.

To sum up, from first to last, the whole episode looks bad. In the first ordinary meeting of the Council, Carleton took a false step. When checked up, he tried to squirm out of his difficulty. Finding this of no avail, he turned to browbeat the just opposition. He was stung into promising them a written reply, but he dared not put in writing what he had said to them. The answer he prepared for home consumption was no answer to the charge that he had shut out several members from the Council. So he "lay low", shrinking from calling his Council or delivering his reply, to which he had committed himself by sending it home, wondering how he could extricate himself. It would seem that he almost let his opportunity slip, when it at last arrived. It was not until four days after the Sunday agitation that he gave any outward sign of his disapproval. Perhaps he would have let it slip, had it not been for the ingenious Masères, who was busy in the background. He raked up an old law of Charles II, against persons joining in a petition to which there were more than twenty subscribers. But the rigours of the law could not be applied to these petitioners, for there was a clause in that old statute suspending its operation if three justices of the peace consented to the petition in question, and three justices had signed this.¹ Most probably Maserès's discovery suggested to Carleton that an instrument had been placed in his hands. So he transformed this innocent and just petition into an insidious attempt "to disturb the peace, and interrupt the free course of justice". At once he struck, not with a sense of justice, but to cut his way out. Irving and Mabane, beside whom the other remonstrants of October were but shadows, were dismissed. Then, when these two were out of the Council, Carleton delivered himself of the written reply which had been lying in his desk. Still fearing Mabane, he stopped his breath by a "blow beneath the belt", for the exercise of his military authority over Mabane can hardly be regarded otherwise. Now he was safe. Now he could call his Council together. On Monday the Council met, and heard Carleton's simple statement that Irving and Mabane had been removed from their midst, and that the reasons for this would be sent home.² He had silenced opposition; by one unjust act he had covered up the traces of another.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 208, Memorial cit.

² Que. Leg. Coun., B, Part II, p. 286. The remonstrance and Carleton's reply were entered on the minute book by Carleton's orders at this meeting. But this Carleton eliminated from the copy he had to send home.

Why should Carleton behave in this outrageous manner? Two reasons may be found. One was the party strife which was fermenting in Canada when Carleton arrived. Murray had been recalled under a cloud of very serious but unjust charges. His friends in Canada were impatient to hear of the investigation being held and their idol cleared; they were eager to have him back again. They were in constant correspondence with him; and, very naturally, for he was still governor of Canada and Carleton was only lieutenant-governor, they appealed to him when they were in trouble. This party included the five who signed the remonstrance, and its strongest men were Irving and Mabane. Over against them stood the anti-Murray party. They had all, at one time or other, encountered Murray's volcanic temper. By dint of an assiduous publicity campaign, they had secured the governor's recall. They dreaded his return, and their only hope was to cry up Carleton. In this faction, Allsopp, the other independent merchants invading the King's Domain, and the Jew Eleazar Levy were among the most active. The great issue was, would Murray return, or would Carleton be made governor? So bitter was the strife, that it produced some amusing incidents. The chaplain at Quebec was a relative of the Vicar of Bray, and so we read, "Brookes in his sermons declaims in the praise of the Lt.-Governor and C. Justice, who by the by are always present, and takes care in his prayers to particularise His Excellency now residing amongst us, for fear his audience should think he was so unfashionable as to pray for a recalled Governor". An incident on the other side may also be given. When a petition to have Carleton made governor was being circulated, it was presented, either maliciously or innocently, to Mabane for his signature. The latter, in indignation, burst out that he would rather give his vote for Thomas Walker.¹ Such was the heated atmosphere in which Carleton found himself, and it was not unnatural that he should fall into the arms of the party all ready to champion him, for nature seems to have made him a party man.

The second reason for his behaviour in the opening months of his administration was a strongly marked feature in his character. He could brook no opposition to his will. He wanted a subservient Council, and he got it.

A. L. BURT

¹ Shelburne MSS., Vol. 64, pp. 117-118, Mabane to Murray, Oct. 21, 1766; Murray Papers, Vol. 3, p. 193, Mabane to Murray, Nov. 30, 1766.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Studies in Empire and Trade. By J. W. JEUDWINE. London: Longmans, Green and Company. 1923. Pp. lii, 463. (\$7.50.)

MR. JEUDWINE follows a long and ill-arranged historical introduction, dealing with imperial principles in general, with several sections in which he examines mediaeval adventure and trade, the discovery of the East, the attack on the Iberian monopolies and on the monopoly of the Indies, and the European "viking" in the Indies. There are several miscellaneous appendices, varying from quotations from Mr. R. H. Tawney's writings to earlier but equally accessible material.

Mr. Jeudwine's aim is apparently to trace the developments of Empire and the transition from the older theories, when trade and commerce were the motives, to more modern conceptions. In doing so, he has collected a mass of material which will be very useful for reference, but there is nothing in his book which is not already well known to scholars in economics and politics. Unfortunately, the book will be of little use to the general reader. It is ill-arranged, unattractively written, and leaves all the impression of a *tour de force*. In addition, were it submitted to close scrutiny, it would be apparent that Mr. Jeudwine is far from being a reliable writer. We could not recommend, for example, even to the general reader, the chapters dealing with the British and French in North America.

The format of the book is good. There is an excellent index which will do much to make serviceable any value which the volume may possess.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Politisches Handwörterbuch. Herausgegeben von K. JAGOW und P. HERRE. Leipzig: Koehler. 1923.

THIS volume is a politico-economic dictionary, dealing with practically every country in the world. The article on "Canada" has been very ably and lucidly written by Dr. A. Hasenclever, professor of history at the University of Halle. Professor Hasenclever, who is one of the few German students who are devoting attention to Canada, has managed to condense a wealth of information into ten closely packed octavo pages. He is of opinion that the great influx of Americans into the

prairie provinces is changing the "British orientation in Canadian politics"; and he surmises that the end of the Anglo-Japanese alliance will have a marked effect in British Columbia. He tells us that Canada's chief security lies in the fact of her being a partner in the British Empire. He does full justice to the importance of railway policy and the strategic value of many of the lines, and makes the unique position of the C.P.R. quite clear. Canada's low percentage of illiterates, and the high moral standard of the population, he regards as particularly noteworthy and promising. The article should supply all that is necessary for a rapid survey, though the bibliographical references—even allowing for difficulties in Germany in laying hands on works dealing with Canada—might have been fuller, and at least included such German authors as A. Fleck, E. J. Neisser, and perhaps J. G. Kohl, whose *Reisen in Kanada*, old as it is, is still very useful and readable. But Dr. Hasenclever's hands may have been tied by the economy of space now imposed on scientific publications by reason of the dire economic conditions obtaining in Germany, though, for some reason or other, there is always paper enough and to spare for novels and art books.

LOUIS HAMILTON

A Book of Canadian Prose and Verse. Compiled and edited by E. K. and E. H. BROADUS. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1923. Pp. xv, 390.

THIS collection is made up of poetry and prose, English and French, covering most of the field of Canadian life. It commences with an "Ode on the King's Birthday (June 4th, 1776)", and ends with a speech by Sir Robert Borden, delivered in New York in 1916. Its editors had two objects in view—a "representative selection", and "a picture of Canadian life, past and present". Their success in both directions makes the book particularly attractive to students and teachers of Canadian history. The literary merit varies, of course, but the panorama is unexpectedly comprehensive.

Commendation of any book for the absence of a defect common to its class comes perilously near "damning with faint praise". However, a Canadian anthology is in question, and a common feature (and defect) of its class has been a determination to find literary merit of no mean order in verse which rhymed and prose which parsed, provided that these were Canadian. The reader of this book discovers, to his relief, that the disease is not pandemic. The editors, in a pithy preface and in specific comment, are happy in suggesting the weaknesses as well as the strength of their material, though the brevity carries with it, perhaps, a hint of the text-book manner.

The historical scheme of compilation has permitted the reproduction of some unfamiliar material not likely to be met with elsewhere, and an interesting literary curiosity worthy of mention is "The Rising Village", by Oliver Goldsmith, a Canadian grand-nephew of the English poet.

J. B. BREBNER

Les petites choses de notre histoire. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Cinquième série. Lévis. 1923. Pp. 303.

THIS is the fifth in a series of extracts from Canadian history that M. P.-G. Roy has brought together and edited, and to which he assigns the unpretentious title of *Les petites choses*. It was a happy device on M. Roy's part to adopt this novel way of making the reading of Canadian history simple and attractive. The present volume seems the most enjoyable of the set, because it has none of the race feeling of the earlier collections, falling back, instead, upon the quaint, homely, familiar, picturesque details of the old French régime and of the years immediately after the Cession.

The volume contains in all one hundred and sixteen titles or *petites choses*, each dealing with the first or original appearance of its kind in Canada,—as, for example: the first negro; the first surveyor; the first printed book; the first intendant; the first dancing-party; the first Protestant church; the first French-Canadian poet, etc., etc. A wide range of subjects is thus ingeniously displayed; and as few of the extracts exceed three pages in length, the reader finds his curiosity and interest sustained from cover to cover. Brief as they are, there is abundance of entertaining historical reading in these selections; and though in no very important sense a contribution to knowledge, they do certainly present many of the small details of Canadian history in a pleasing form.

C. E. FRYER

Le vieux Québec. Par PIERRE-GEORGES ROY. Première série. Québec. 1923. Pp. 300.

M. Roy is so well known as an indefatigable archivist and writer of special monographs that the interested public will be apt to mistake this new volume for either a collection of archives or a monograph on some special features of Quebec provincial history. True, it is, in one sense, a book of archives, and, in another, a work of history. But in its essential contents, and still more in its essential aims, it is something far more original than that. For it is, apparently, the first attempt ever made to bring home the real importance and living interest of such archives to intelligent readers in their 'teens. Whether M. Roy, like

other experts, is not inclined to overrate the youthful power of attention to detail, and whether, consequently, he might not succeed even better by occasionally halving the number of facts and doubling the length of the stories in which they appear, are questions that his chosen readers must answer for themselves. But one thing is certain: that here we have a wholly admirable effort, made by a most accomplished expert, to bring the archives of Quebec into personal and vivifying touch with the enquiring youth of to-day.

WILLIAM WOOD

La Tragédie d'un peuple: Histoire du peuple acadien de ses origines à nos jours. Par ÉMILE LAUVRIÈRE. Deux tomes. Paris: Édition Bossard. 1922. Pp. xvi, 1110.

M. LAUVRIÈRE, whose criticisms and translations have given Edgar Allan Poe, Hawthorne, and Longfellow to the French public, has found in the sufferings of the Acadians the inspiration for a more ambitious work. This is a drama in five acts, which begins with the quarrels between French and English trader-settlers in the early seventeenth century, and advances through the surrender of Acadia by the Treaty of Utrecht to a third act in the expulsion of the "neutrals" during the Seven Years War. The fourth act is the subsequent wanderings of the refugees, and the fifth their gradual rehabilitation as a people in New Brunswick and other parts of America. The author tells the story in order to pay "une dette de reconnaissance patriotique. La France a trop longtemps méconnu un peuple qui a tant souffert pour elle." He writes also to the present detriment of Great Britain: "L'Acadia n'est-elle pas une primitive Alsace-Lorraine?" "Le peuple-martyr a été victime d'un impérialisme aussi âpre, aussi atroce, aussi cynique que celui-là même qui vient de dévaster l'Europe. Méfions-nous: car cet impérialisme n'est pas mort; il n'a fait que changer de forme." His exact purpose in arousing racial passion is not quite clear: in the concluding paragraphs, he exhorts the surviving Acadians to preserve their civilization from the greedy intolerance of the English-speaking world and in order to do this to renew their contact with France. Even such a project can be ruined from the beginning by the excessive egoism of a people. The "simple" virtues will command the respect of the modern world when they are exercised by a people which takes its share in the life of nations, not by a race isolated from others by its own particularism, wrapt in the glorification of its peculiar virtues, and brooding over ancient injustices.

The injustice of the sufferings of the Acadians has long been frankly admitted. At first, the expulsion of the Acadians during the Seven Years War was presumed to have been necessary because of some

treachery of the subject race, but researches into the Nova Scotia archives failed to establish the necessity. Parkman circulated a version which partially relieved the British of guilt. His volumes were hotly attacked by Édouard Richard, an Acadian by birth, in his *Acadia: A Lost Chapter in American History*, in which he disposed of the "military necessity", but cleared the British administration of deliberate participation in the cruelty of their local representatives. Henri d'Arles published in Paris in three volumes (1916, 1918, 1921) a new edition of Richard, expanded by interpretative footnotes and further documentary evidence. In the present volumes, fully documented from English, French, and American sources, the subject is treated with the hysterical emotion that spoiled the work of Richard and Arles. Indeed, the French contributors lack the essential sanity of the native-born Acadian, who was honest enough to admit that his country, when it was at peace, prospered more under British rule than under French neglect. No unbiased historian can defend the treatment of the Acadians on any grounds of morality or expediency, but neither can he admit the wholesale condemnation of British imperialism. Let the verdict of the British House of Commons upon Clive serve as the judgment of history upon the nation which he served, when, after condemning without equivocation certain of his administrative acts, it declared that he had rendered "great and meritorious services to the state". The Acadians suffered, not through the deliberate cruelty of a victorious enemy, but through the neglect of distant officials who were occupied with more urgent affairs. Acadia was, except for its connection with the fisheries, an insignificant corner of two vast colonial empires. Its inhabitants, ground between the upper and nether millstones of French intrigue and British fear, had no relief for their sufferings.

Having granted the truth of the main thesis, one must still complain of prejudice in the selection and interpretation of sources. There is no need to stigmatize Britain for failing to send colonists to America just after the voyages of the Cabots. There was a gap of fifty years after the exploration of Cartier before the first permanent French colonies were established. The reasons can be easily discovered in European history and economic changes, by anyone who cares to seek them. The efforts of the English and French colonists in the seventeenth century to come to an agreement about trade and Indian policy were not calculating treachery: they might, if supported, have prevented the wars of extermination. The decision of Pitt to drive the French from North America was based, not without careful investigation, upon a conviction that they threatened the prosperity and the very existence of the English settlements. M. Lauvrière quotes Amherst as an ex-

ponent of British policy towards the Indians, but if Amherst declined to treat them as human beings, there was at least a Johnson to conciliate them and a Carleton to protest against their use in war. The following criticism might have more weight if it had been made by a better man: "C'est une nation, dit *Bigot*, qui suit volontiers la loi du plus fort et non la loi de la justice."

MARJORIE GORDON REID

The Causes and Character of the American Revolution. By H. E. EGERTON.
Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1923. Pp. viii, 207.

THE value of a book is not necessarily related to its size. Professor Egerton's volume is small, but it has in it suggestions enough to permit expansion to many volumes. The eight chapters contain the substance of lectures delivered while the author was Beit Professor of Colonial History at Oxford. The chief English historian of the Revolution tends to take sides, and gives the Tories a bad time. Professor Egerton is detached, and comes to the rescue of no party and no view. The first chapter deals with the fundamental causes of the Revolution. Perhaps the chief was the resolve in England to retain control of the colonies, while the temper of the colonies made such control impossible. England was an oligarchy; each colony was inevitably a democracy. The Englishmen who crossed the seas to found new homes were the most resolute and independent of all their countrymen. They wielded real authority in their new communities and, however loyal in spirit to the mother land they might seem, they deemed themselves self-governing. In founding such states through her own sons, England had sown "profusely the dragon's teeth of democracy", and yet endeavoured to check it "by the weakest and clumsiest application of aristocratic government" (p. 22). Here we have the fundamental cause of the Revolution.

The details are worked out in the following seven chapters. Two of them outline the administrative and the economic aspects of the colonial relation. From the first the intention of the Stuart king was that the colonies should be directly controlled from England. Charles I was true to his conviction that neither in England nor in America was government any affair of the people. In 1625 the colony of Virginia was not yet twenty years old when he issued a proclamation outlining his plan for personal rule. Throughout "our whole Monarchy" there must be "one uniform course of government" and Virginia must "immediately depend herself"; it was unfitting that the ordering of state affairs, even of the pettiest kind, should be handed over to any "company or corporation". These might deal with the inferior things

of trade, but government was the sacred task of kings. From the first, however, Massachusetts went its own way and paid little heed to London. During the Civil War, which ended in the execution of the king who had uttered the brave words of the proclamation, the colonies were free of control, and later it could not be made effective. Massachusetts did what even Canada, with three or four million people, did not venture to do as late as in 1867: it created a federal union with three other colonies, and London was never asked whether it liked it or not.

On the economic side, that side which the king was ready to leave to the colonists, there was a control more real. The policy of the Navigation Acts restricted colonial trade to British ships and British ports. For this policy Professor Egerton has a good word, in this sense, that the Acts not only enabled England to check Holland on the sea and become the carrier for the world, but they stimulated the colonial timber and ship-building industry. It is, however, true that the colonies often ignored or defied them, and there was no machinery for keeping colonial ships from trading with the foreign colonies in the West Indies. Even in trade the colonies accepted control largely because this suited their interests for the time. When Britain became coercive, as she did after 1763, there were flaming protests, and revolution was near.

The passions of the English revolution in the seventeenth century have, by this time, so cooled that the epoch is viewed with detachment of mind. Not so with two revolutions more recent. In France nearly every one takes sides on the great upheaval of 1789, and in the United States it is still thought noteworthy that any one can view the events of 1776 with complete detachment. Even in England, where politically the American Revolution is only a vague memory, writers of our own time fail in detachment. Mr. Fortescue, the historian of the British army, is quite too pungent in adverse comments on the Americans in the revolutionary war, while Sir George Trevelyan writes as a Whig of the eighteenth century, something perhaps to be pardoned in the biographer of Fox and Macaulay. In American politics and education, the Revolution is still a living issue. Wisconsin has recently passed what is called a "Pure History Law", providing for heavy penalties to any school board which shall permit the use of a text book taking any other than the rigidly patriotic view of the American Revolution.¹ It is clear that to write judicially on the American Revolution is not yet

¹The law is printed in the *American Historical Review*, July, 1923, p. 699. It seems incredible that such a law could be enacted nearly one hundred and fifty years after the Declaration of Independence. But, in the United States, history is still a weapon for the politician. The contrast seems ludicrous when we imagine a British legislature requiring the patriotic view to be taken of the long struggle with Napoleon.

easy. It is, however, being done, and Professor Egerton's book is noteworthy for its clear statement of the views of both sides. He is always asking himself the question which is the title of the final chapter, "How far was the American Revolution inevitable?" and, like a sound judge, he arrays all the points in the case before the final summing up. He passes over the mere incidents connected with the great crises, the Declaration of Independence, Saratoga, Yorktown, with a bare mention. There are no analyses of character, no vivid scenes, no touches of emotion. The book is purely political and, in this limited range, it is probably the most adequate summing-up yet written of causes and opinions in what was really a crisis in human history—for it is no exaggeration to say that, had there been no American Revolution, the political outlook of the world to-day would have been vastly different from what it is.

Space permits only a brief statement of the things to be considered, if we are to judge whether the Revolution was inevitable. In England there was a natural, if also an offensive, assertion of superiority to all things colonial, something which still crops up in the less initiated circles of English society. Colonial soldiers could not possibly be as good as those in England. Colonial legislators, if they struck an unpleasing note, were traitorous demagogues. For an Englishman to go to live in the colonies was exile to semi-barbarism. Sometimes persons not respectable enough for England were sent to positions of authority in the colonies. Lord Holland, the father of Charles James Fox, urged "that an actor who had eloped with his niece should be provided for by being made Controller of the Customs at New York" (p. 69). As the revolution drew near, colonial affairs were so much in the hands of second-rate men that adequate consideration was impossible. The view was general that, in the last analysis, coercion could be applied and that colonial military power was contemptible. This smug sense of superiority went hand in hand with deep-seated corruption. During the war Admiral Rodney wrote to Lord George Germain saying that treasure was being squandered and the war deliberately prolonged "by the very men entrusted with the most important and honourable confidence of their sovereign and that quartermasters, barrack-masters and their deputies were making princely fortunes, and laughed in their sleeves at the generals who permitted it" (p. 147). The war was in truth never pushed on the British side with compelling energy. When Howe was comfortable in Philadelphia in the winter of 1777-1778, Washington, a few miles away at Valley Forge, saw his army almost vanish. Why did not Howe make a supreme effort to destroy Washington? Why did Clinton, who, Rodney says (p. 148), made himself comfortable by occupying no fewer than four houses in New York, allow himself to be

held there for years by the inferior forces of Washington? In the early stages of the war, the British generals refrained from strong action in the hope of reconciliation, but this reason vanished rapidly after the Declaration of Independence. Sweeping assertion of rights seemed to be linked always on the British side with weak action in enforcing them.

One final reason which probably made the revolution inevitable was the view, held even by the Whigs, that control of the colonies must always remain with the mother country. The doctrine of equality, which to-day brings half a dozen British prime ministers to sit side by side in council, was not yet even in its cradle. We all know Burke's description of the mother country, superintending "as from the throne of heaven" all the colonial legislatures and guiding them by her superior wisdom. One smiles to-day as one thinks of Canada or Australia accepting this doctrine. Wisdom does not find its ultimate interpreter in the British Isles. Quite obviously, however, Burke thought it did. Chatham really held the same view: the colonial could not be the political equal of the home-keeping Briton. Such a view stirred the resentful pride of men like Washington and John Adams,—their pride, not any *doctrinaire* conceptions of colonial liberty. They believed that Britain was deeply corrupt, and that, in this respect, they were not her inferiors, but her superiors. Their rather cloudy loyalty was linked with a pervading sense of their own dignity and independence. Demagogues arose to press such views to extremes. Paine urged the absurdity of the claim of a little island in Europe to control the destiny of a vast empire in America, inhabited by free men. There was, however, no ideal virtue in the colonies. Washington's account of the corruption and self-seeking in his army makes painful reading. The greedy persecution of the Loyalists was both brutal and short-sighted. It led to the founding of British Canada, and shut out the United States from the north. There was a crude intolerance in each of the colonies, in sharp contrast with the freedom with which the great issue was debated in England.

When, after this survey, we ask whether the revolution was inevitable, the reluctant answer must be "yes", unless a miracle had happened to give wisdom and magnanimity to each side, and such miracles do not take place in politics. It seems as if under a stern Providence nations must do their very worst in order to get from adversity a needed chastening. In the background was France, fearful of renewed attack by Britain, so completely victorious in 1763, and longing for revenge. Not until the very end of the war did she give any vital aid to the colonies, but she aroused hopes which fortified their determination. This side of the problem Professor Egerton treats with marked insight. He is

most adequate, too, on the position of the Loyalists. Some years ago he edited for the Roxburghe Club, in an *edition de luxe* and privately printed, *The Royal Commission on Loyalist Claims, 1783-5*, and in doing so made himself master of the literature about the Loyalists. We may hope that some day may be given to the wider world this admirable material. In his new volume Professor Egerton makes extensive use of it. For the rest of his book he has used a great mass of printed literature, and he lays special emphasis on the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Stopford-Sackville MSS. in particular throw new light on that clever, but inept, minister, Lord George Germain. Professor Egerton refutes Lord Shelburne's statement that the disaster to Burgoyne was due to Germain's failure to instruct Howe in New York to advance in the summer of 1777 to meet Burgoyne coming southward from Canada. The true story still leaves Germain ready to sacrifice to the relaxation of the hour the discharge of a vital duty. He had driven to his office on his way to the country, when William Knox, the under-secretary, reminded him that no letter of instructions had gone to Howe. Germain said that he could not wait, since "my poor horses must stand in the street all the time", and he would arrive late at his country house. Accordingly he drove away, leaving a subordinate to write to Howe. No copy of this letter was kept, and from this came Shelburne's charge that Howe had had no instructions. The blame for Burgoyne's failure is shifted to Howe. He went off from New York to lay siege to Philadelphia, knowingly leaving Braddock in the air. Thus are empires lost.

GEORGE M. WRONG

The Correspondence of Lieut. Gov. John Graves Simcoe, with allied documents relating to his administration of the government of Upper Canada. Collected and edited by Brigadier General E. A. CRUIKSHANK for the Ontario Historical Society. Volume I: 1789-1793. Toronto: Published by the Society. 1923. (\$1.00.)

THIS handsome octavo volume is an admirable collection of documents of very great value in the study of early Upper Canada. The editor has not confined his selection to letters written to or by Lieutenant-governor Simcoe; but beginning with a letter from Grenville to Lord Chancellor Thurlow of August 26, 1784, from the Dropmore Papers, he avails himself of treasures from many sources, including letters from Washington and Jefferson. Of course, the Dominion Archives at Ottawa have been largely drawn upon.

The last of the letters copied here is of date August 1, 1763, and further volumes are promised.

The selection has been well made, but it must be admitted that there are omissions much to be regretted. The editor does not seem to have made use of the very valuable collection of documents of which copies were obtained by the late Mr. J. Ross Robertson from Wolford Manor. Some of these documents seem necessary to complete the record: for example, Evan Nepean's letter to Simcoe of September 14, 1791, concerning the blank in the list of councillors, and that of September 19, 1791, concerning Sir John Johnson and Simcoe's commission; the list of proposed executive and legislative councillors drawn up by Thomas Thomson at Dorchester's request, and comments on the list as "leaving out almost all the principal characters particularly those who from the commencement of the late unhappy war distinguished themselves by their Loyalty, Zeal and Exertions for the Crown"; the bishop of Nova Scotia's letter to Simcoe of March 13, 1793 ("Had Bishops been appointed for America at the beginning of the present century, I am of opinion that the late Rebellion would not have happened"), etc., etc. Perhaps these and others will appear in a subsequent volume.

The notes, chiefly biographical, are helpful: in general, they are accurate as was to be expected. But *aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus*. Some of the nods are probably due to defective proof-reading, but some are more serious. The editor has given some support to the grotesque and wholly baseless story that Chief Justice Osgoode was "a natural son of King George II". This is a variant of Garneau's story that he was "a natural son of George III". The elder king, who was seventy-one when Osgoode was born, must be acquitted of this charge, as well as the younger who was only sixteen, the whole foundation for the statement being silly and malicious gossip of the times when Osgoode was having trouble with Prescott. The father of the chief justice was William Osgood of St. Martin's Parish, a friend of John and Charles Wesley. Alexander McKee is said (p. 36) to have been appointed "on the organization of the district of Hesse, judge of the Court of Common Pleas in conjunction with William Dummer Powell"; and it is said of William Dummer Powell (p. 89) that he "was appointed Judge of the Court of Common Pleas for the District of Hesse in conjunction with Alexander McKee". The fact is quite different, as is shown by official documents of record in the Dominion Archives. When by proclamation of July 24, 1788, Dorchester created the districts of Luneburg, Mecklenburg, Nassau, and Hesse, he appointed for the Court of Common Pleas in each district three judges, all laymen. In the district of Hesse, Duperon Baby was commissioned first justice, Alexander McKee second justice, and William Robertson third justice. In the other districts, the lay judges acted; but in Hesse objection was taken by those appointed

to the bench, and also by the merchants. The commission to Baby, McKee, and Robertson was superseded, and William Dummer Powell was appointed first judge, February 2, 1789. An ordinance was passed, April 30, 1789, providing that until there should be three judges in that court, the first judge should have the powers of the whole number: Powell was the only judge who ever sat in that court. Powell, moreover, did not practise his profession in Montreal "for more than ten years": he did not arrive in Quebec until August, 1779, or in Montreal until later in that year.

David William Smith was not, properly speaking, surveyor-general for Upper Canada (pp. 185-244). It was thought that Holland, the surveyor-general for Lower Canada, should fill the same office in Upper Canada without additional salary (Dundas's despatch to Simcoe, August 14, 1792), and Simcoe properly calls Smith "Acting Surveyor General of Upper Canada", in his letter of October 31, 1792 (p. 244). The editor calls him "deputy Surveyor General" (p. 195), and that is not objectionable.

Sir James Bland Burges was born in 1752, not 1753 (p. 321).

The notorious Genêt was not born in 1763 (p. 354), but in 1765.

The "Captain Sherwood" referred to in John Munro's letter of January 14, 1792 (p. 104), could not be "Livius P. Sherwood, afterwards a Member of the Assembly for several years". Livius (not Livius) Peters Sherwood, the member, afterwards justice of the King's Bench, was born after his father, Justus Sherwood, settled at St. John's in 1777.

Major James Gray did not die on May 11, 1796 (p. 104). Simcoe's despatch of November 7, 1795, speaks of his death; it really took place on May 11, 1795.

A few of the notes may be misleading. "Gregor McGregor, afterwards Sheriff of the Western District" (p. 212), had been the sheriff of the district of Hesse, 1788. "Hon. Jacques Baby" (p. 232) and "James Baby of Detroit" (p. 233) are the same person as "James Baby (Jacques Baby de Rainville)" of p. 263.

It may seem ungracious when so much is given to ask for more; but I venture to suggest that it would be of assistance if the volume and page in the Dominion Archives whence the documents are taken should be given.

The volume is well printed on good paper, is well bound, and is a credit to all concerned, printer as well as editor. Its successors will be eagerly looked for; and the whole series must be as valuable as it will be interesting.

WILLIAM RENWICK RIDDELL

Jay's Treaty: A Study in Diplomacy and Commerce. By SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1923. Pp. xvii, 368.

JAY'S TREATY has been roundly condemned by Americans ever since Washington's day, but few writers have taken the trouble to study carefully the events and negotiations which led up to it. This Professor Bemis has done in the book under review, and by his researches he has shed a flood of light on the subject of Anglo-American relations during the crucial years from 1783 to 1794. Dr. Bemis has studied his authorities carefully. He has made good use of the materials in the Public Record Office, London, the Archives at Washington, D.C., "les Archives des Affaires Étrangères", Paris, and the Public Archives at Ottawa. He has even obtained transcripts from the Swedish Royal Archives in Stockholm concerning the "abortive armed neutrality of 1794". Other sources have also been consulted. In fact, the whole book has been based as far as possible on manuscript materials. It represents therefore real research, and yet it does not suffer from the defects of style which too often characterize a work of this sort. It is most interesting throughout, and the points at issue between Great Britain and the United States during the period under discussion are clearly defined.

Professor Bemis places himself on record as under a debt of gratitude to the Canadian Archives, and especially to Mr. David W. Parker's guides to the documents in the manuscript room. It is most pleasing to read in his "Bibliography" that "the value of these guides cannot be overestimated, nor can enough thanks be given to the most thorough and scholarly author. These guides make easily available and usable the great mass of material, until recently scarcely touched, that awaits exploitation by the investigator of Canadian history."

The theme of this study is clearly stated in the first sentence of the volume: "Anglo-American diplomatic history from the treaty of independence to the signature of Jay's Treaty is concerned definitely with two factors, the frontier and overseas commerce." It is with the former of these that Canadians are chiefly interested. Although the Treaty of Versailles of 1783 had given to the United States the Ohio valley and the "Old North West Territory", as the American historians term it, the British retained certain fur-trading posts on American soil, the most important of which were Niagara, Detroit, and Michilimackinac. In 1790, as the author states, half of the furs collected by the Montreal merchants trading as the North West Company came from south of the Great Lakes. There was little desire, therefore, evinced by the British to surrender these valuable posts. It was even proposed to erect a neutral Indian buffer state in this territory, and Dr. Bemis has most carefully traced the history of this project. If it had succeeded,

the subsequent development of both Canada and the United States would have been very different, and one can imagine with the author that Chicago might have arisen as the "metropolis of a British state in the upper Mississippi Valley". When this proved impossible, the British secretary of state for foreign affairs, Lord Grenville, proposed to Jay, the American plenipotentiary, that a "rectification of frontier" should be made to allow the British free access to the navigation of the Mississippi and thereby carry out Article VII of the peace treaty of 1783. But Jay held his ground and refused to tamper with that treaty, which he had helped to negotiate, and which had set an impossible north-western boundary between the United States and British North America.

The subject of overseas commerce is treated fully by Dr. Bemis. In this connection he has made a valuable discovery among the Chatham MSS. in the Public Record Office. He found among the public papers of the younger Pitt copies of British customs receipts for the years 1788-94. From these documents he has been able to ascertain the inter-relationship of British and American commerce during this important period. He shows that "the United States was the greatest single purchaser of British exports", and that these exports "consisted almost wholly of English *manufactures*". He therefore concludes that "the Anglo-American commerce in 1789 was indispensable to the prosperity of England", and also claims that it was "vitally necessary for the national existence of the United States". Under such conditions, a commercial treaty between the two nations would seem essential.

Another reason for friendly relations between Britain and the United States became evident in 1790 when the Nootka Sound controversy took place (see pp. 51-61). The benevolent neutrality of the United States in the event of war between Great Britain and Spain over this issue was to be desired by British statesmen. As the author shows, the whole incident indicates the inter-relation between Anglo-American diplomacy and the general European situation.

The long series of negotiations, first unofficial and later official, between the two governments is most carefully traced by the author. He leads us through a maze of intricate diplomacy, almost leading to war during the "Frontier Crisis" of 1793-4, until at length John Jay and Lord Grenville framed their treaty in the summer and autumn of 1794. The policies and personalities of these two men are vividly sketched, and Jay is shown to be rather a novice in the diplomatic struggle. The treaty as finally drawn up was not an American triumph. Britain did not withdraw one iota from her position on any of the chief points. She surrendered the fur-trading posts, but did not give up the right of search.

Dr. Bemis is not sparing of censure on John Jay for the treaty he made. He shows that the American chief justice, for such was Jay's exalted office, failed to uphold "the honour of the court over which he presided at home by insisting on its competence to interpret the treaty and on the sufficiency of its justice". But it seems clear from the author's sketch of the negotiations that Jay was over-anxious, and that he was no match for Grenville. Probably there is no overstatement in the claim made in the concluding sentence of the book that "more aptly the treaty might be called Hamilton's Treaty". For Alexander Hamilton was the real power behind the American negotiator, and he clearly saw that a treaty with Great Britain had to be made, no matter how unfavourable the terms.

Jay's Treaty marked an epoch in Anglo-American relations, and the appearance of Dr. Bemis's book marks an epoch in the historical study of this important treaty. One does wish, perhaps, that he had been a little more lenient with Governor Simcoe and his "nightmares of American aggression" (it is quite possible that Simcoe's letters now being issued by the Ontario Historical Society will cast some new light on this subject), but on the whole the work is remarkably free from bias. It does great credit both to its author, and to the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission, under whose auspices it has been published.

W. N. SAGE

Cours d'histoire du Canada. Par THOMAS CHAPAI. Tome 4: 1833-41.
Québec: Garneau. 1923. Pp. x, 335.

WITH this volume M. Chapais completes the publication of a course of evening lectures delivered by him at Laval University during the last four years and dealing with the history of Quebec and Lower Canada between 1760 and 1841.

It has been said that M. Chapais writes as a French-Canadian for French-Canadians, and this is true of his fourth volume. He thinks of the Quebec Act as a triumph for Canadian effort; to him the issue of the War of Independence is the question whether, "remaining true to our new allegiance, we should continue to remain in the saving isolation which would keep intact our power of survival and would maintain the integrity of our traditions"; the Constitutional Act is an opportunity for political education and action; and the War of 1812 is "the occasion of declaring the worth of our allegiance and our co-operation". The point of view is French-Canadian throughout, and the Canadian aspect of problems dealt with is seldom given a setting by approaching them as problems of H.M. Government as well. It is no doubt natural to English-speaking students to approach Canadian constitutional history

with an eye on the fountain of constitutions, and quite as natural to the French Canadian, in his absorption in the native problem, to forget the larger issue.

With this in mind the English reader can appreciate the very thorough account given of the years 1833-1841. That account is neither biased against the British government nor for the "Patriotes", though the limitation above mentioned is almost always apparent. M. Chapais is particularly judicious in his discussion of the *intransigeance* of the Papineau group, and he takes pains to show from newspapers and other contemporary material how serious and well-founded was the body of opinion which refused the orator allegiance. His analysis of Durham's report commences with a sturdy reproof for the emphasis placed on racial hostility and the necessity for anglicization. One might have wished that the greatest feature of the report, its vigorous demand for responsible government, had been given somewhat fuller treatment than the three paragraphs which it receives. Surely even to the people whom he insulted and threatened Durham is the statesman largely responsible for the second great step in Canadian constitutional history. In connection with the Union Act, the French-Canadian view is a real corrective. We too often conveniently ignore the consequences of the Act in Lower Canada. "Au lendemain de nos malheurs, en 1841, nous entrions comme des vaincus dans le nouveau régime qui nous était imposé," writes M. Chapais. "Tout semblait calculé pour nous interdire l'espérance." When we realize how hopeless the outlook was in 1841, we take a step toward appreciating the subsequent attitude toward the racial alliances which bridged the period to Confederation, and toward appreciating the attitude toward federation itself.

The lecturer thanks his audience for having accompanied him in a long and sometimes arduous survey. While it is true that to some teachers an eight-page analysis of the "92 Resolutions" might seem an unusual compliment to the attentiveness of a class, it is none the less true that the lectures must have been most attractive. The narrative is lively and comprehensive. One fairly lives through the famous Bagg-Tracey election, or the terrors of the harried population during the rebellion. Printed lectures are not always the best history, but most English-speaking readers will find these lectures good history, and very useful in that they were delivered by one whose heart is with his own people and who feels again the questionings and ambitions of an anxious period of their history.

The great care taken in documentation, the free use of original material, and the chapter bibliographies are most welcome. It is perhaps worth suggesting that Sir Charles Lucas's edition of Lord

Durham's *Report* is the one most frequently used by students, and references might therefore have been made to it rather than to Ridgway's 1839 edition.

J. B. BREBNER

Ranald MacDonald: The Narrative of his Early Life on the Columbia under the Hudson's Bay Company's Régime; of his Experiences in the Pacific Whale Fishery; and of his Great Adventure to Japan; with a sketch of his later life on the Western Frontier, 1824-1894. Edited and annotated by WILLIAM S. LEWIS and NAOJIRO MURAKAMI. Spokane, Wash.: The Inland-American Printing Company. 1923. Pp. 333.

THIS book contains the reminiscences of an old man, written, it would seem, entirely from memory, after a lapse of forty or fifty years. The author was the eldest son of Archibald McDonald, a prominent man in Lord Selkirk's Colony, and later a well-known officer of the Hudson's Bay Company. His mother was a Chinook woman, called "Raven", the daughter of old Com-comly, the one-eyed chief of the Columbia River Mouth. The main incident in the narrative is his voyage to Japan and his attempt to enter that country in 1848-9. The many years that he spent in British Columbia are passed over almost unnoticed. The consequence is that the text is of little interest and of less value to the student of Canadian history. For the few pages in which he speaks of fur-trading days are filled with inaccuracies and exaggerations, and exhibit a manifest effort to magnify his deeds and his and his family's importance. To speak of "Princess", "King Com-comly", "Royal House", "King's Court", "Royal Household", "merry chimes of the wedding", etc., is, to those who understand the real situation, absurd and grotesque. This exclusion of everything except the Japan Adventure is perhaps with the intention of including it in a later volume (see page 240).

The editors have been kept busy in the endeavour to straighten out by means of footnotes the tangled web of the text; and, when the author oversteps the bounds and waxes eloquent concerning his idyllic childhood life at Fort Colvile, they add a footnote showing that he is drawing on his imagination for his facts. The whole value of the book is in the editors' well-written biographical sketch and in the abundant information relating to matters connected with North American history contained in the notes. Neither time nor energy has been spared in their preparation; they show wide reading and much research. Some of them, e.g., note 69 on page 91, are scarcely germane to the text; note 121 on page 115, relating to the Ermatinger family, contains some

trifling errors; note 84 on page 98 is unhappily expressed: Ranald MacDonald was never, in the early sixties or at any other time, "in association with" Sir James Douglas, the governor, in any enterprise in Cariboo. Fort Simpson, in northern British Columbia, is stated in note 24, page 34, to have been named after Sir George Simpson. This is a mistake; it was named after Captain Simpson of the *Cadboro* (see Walbran's *Place Names*, p. 396). Perhaps the editors were led into this error by following Dunn's *Oregon*, p. 274. Occasionally the materials gathered under one name seem to relate to two different persons; the result is a lengthy footnote, or two lengthy footnotes, in an endeavour to evolve a theory to reconcile the facts. Of this, notes 79 and 81 on pages 94 and 96 on Michael Klyne are an example. After reading the text and the two notes on it the reader is only a little more confused. It appears quite improbable that Michel Klein, *a voyageur*, is identical with Michael Klyne, one of Lord Selkirk's grantees. The biographical accounts are a distinct contribution to our knowledge of the McDonald family. The volume contains about a dozen fine reproductions of photographs connected with the narrative. And the index includes both the text and the notes.

F. W. HOWAY

Early Fur Trading Posts in Alberta. By J. N. WALLACE. (Annual Report of the Alberta Land Surveyors Association, 1922, pp. 11-20.)

THIS is a concise and interesting sketch of the building and location of some of the early trading posts in Alberta. According to Mr. Wallace, there were no French forts in that province. He makes no mention of Fort La Jonquière, which, according to Masson, citing the late Dr. Sulte, was built in 1752 by M. de Niverville "au pied des montagnes, à l'endroit même où plus d'un siècle après le capitaine Brisebois, de la police à cheval, fondait un poste qui porta, pendant quelques mois le nom de son fondateur, et se nomme aujourd'hui Calgary". Mr. L. J. Burpee in *The Search for the Western Sea*, p. 273 *et seq.*, suggests very diffidently that La Jonquière may have been on the North Saskatchewan not far from Edmonton. Mr. Wallace does not go back into the mists beyond 1772. He claims that Peter Pond's House, built about 1778, on the Athabasca River near its mouth was the first fur-trading post in Alberta. The Montreal merchants were in complete possession of the fur-trade of Alberta until 1792, when the Hudson's Bay Company built Buckingham House on the North Saskatchewan. From that point onward he traces succinctly the foundation of the different forts and indicates their exact locations. The paper contains a skeleton map of

a portion of Alberta on which the sites of the posts are shown. As the author is connected with the Survey Branch of the Department of the Interior these positions may be taken as correct according to our present information.

F. W. HOWAY

Sagas of the Sea. By ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN. (*The King's Treasures of Literature.*) London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. [1923.] Pp. 156.

THE essentially maritime quality of Nova Scotian life is aptly set forth in these brief historical sketches by a long-time resident of the old port of Halifax. The tales cannot but appeal to anyone whose imagination has ever been lured by the hazards of sea-faring, and their interest is enhanced for all students of Canada's history by the special provincial flavour of the collection.

Five of the nine "sagas" recount incidents in time of war,—the American Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Great War. Two of these are examples of ideal discipline in the old navy and in the new; a third tells of shipwreck and hazardous adventure in the carrying of dispatches between Quebec and New York in 1780; a fourth describes the sack of Lunenburg by a fleet of rebel privateers two years later; another tells the lurid fate of an American privateer in Nova Scotian waters in 1813. The remaining four are tales of peril in the work-a-day lives of seamen of the province. All of them are told with the charm and distinction which we have come to expect in everything the author writes.

Professor MacMechan has drawn his material almost exclusively from original sources, which he duly notes, for each "saga", in the table of contents. Refraining from fictitious embellishments, he achieves his expressed aim, to state the facts "as plainly as may be and let them speak for themselves". Nevertheless the facts are illuminated in the statement by the author's nautical knowledge and enthusiasm, and, as one would expect at his hands, are linked suggestively with the wider life of the province and given their due setting and significance. The volume stimulates appreciation of the special maritime "colour" of Nova Scotia's community life, and well illustrates the important rôle played by the province and her sons in the history of sea-faring.

The neat pocket format, dear to the hearts of the book's publishers, has the advantage, by virtue of its inexpensiveness, of making the work available for extensive use in schools and of inviting a wide popular circulation.

REGINALD G. TROTTER

L'Ile Percée; the Finial of the St. Lawrence; or Gaspé Flaneries, being a blend of reveries and realities, of history and science, of description and narrative; as also a signpost to the traveler. By JOHN M. CLARKE. New Haven: Yale University Press. [1923.] Pp. 203; illustrations.

DR. JOHN M. CLARKE is one of the best-known American palaeontologists, and usually spends his summers in Gaspé, where he has made large collections of fossils, and has worked out in detail the complicated geology of the Percée region. One might expect from him a solid scientific work showing the results of his studies, interesting to the geologist but quite beyond the reach of the ordinary reader. Instead of this sober contribution to scientific literature, he has provided one of the most extraordinary medleys of fact and fancy it has been my good fortune to read. The elaborate title given above suggests the strange variety of materials in the book, including carefully observed facts in geology, fragments of the picturesque history of eastern Canada, accounts of the Indians, details of the cod fishery, hints of the vast processes of the building of the mountains, studies of the life and habits of sea-fowl and of men, quotations from Theodore Roosevelt on the extinction of the passenger pigeon, and a dozen other topics more or less closely connected with Gaspé, the whole clothed in an exuberantly florid literary style. Dr. Clarke's reading must include a wide range of subjects remote from the ken of the ordinary scientific man.

The book contains not only a preface, but also an "overture", like an opera, and this is followed by a dozen chapters with titles such as "The Cadence of the Roads", "The St. Lawrence Pathway", "Gaspé chez lui", "The Days of the Seigneurie", "Her Majesty, Percée", "The Cries of the Sea-fowl", etc., all pitched in a poetic and romantic key, decorated with figures of speech, with recondite allusions to forgotten works, with words unfamiliar even to a cultivated reader, and with phrases from the French and the Latin.

In an account of Gaspé, fishing is naturally referred to many times. "It is worth all of nature's effort at the evolution of something into a salmon, all of her arduous experiments and expedients to attain a fishy ideal, to have produced . . . such a fish set in the cool, darkling pools amid the spruce-coated slopes of these rivers." The members of the Cascapedia Club, "*grand pêcheurs devant Dieu et devant les hommes*", pay substantial sums to the owners of the salmon stands on the sea front for *not fishing*, "so that the natural course of the fish on the way from the sea into the river and out again may not be interrupted"; and this is in addition to the heavy rental paid to the Quebec government, which amounts to \$12,000 a year. When Dr. Clarke met Weir Mitchell coming

down from his pools and asked him what luck he had had, "he replied, 'Never better. My fish this year have cost me only fifty dollars a pound'."

An interesting account is given of the traditional methods of taking and curing the cod. "Second only to the mass in the church above the beaches is this venerable act of faith and works—the splitting of the cod. Every detail of the table, each tool used upon it, each movement of the men about it, even the half barrels in which you will see them standing to keep from being spattered overmuch, are actually the unaltered survival of the centuries and the very oldest remaining institutions which the white man brought into this country." The history of the Jersey fishing companies on the coast is given in some detail, and the number of cod taken annually from Gaspé is estimated at not less than forty millions, a quite incredible number.

The days of the *seigneurs* in Gaspé have a whole chapter devoted to them, and the early missionaries are praised for their devotion. Wolfe's destruction of the little settlement in 1758 is graphically described; and the strange mixture of races in the Gaspé peninsula is recalled, Micmac Indians, Basques and Bretons, Channel Islanders, United Empire Loyalists, Irish and Scotch settlers, and the influx of French-Canadians. "The French speech is in them all, and in most the French blood flows freely. There are Irish to whom English is a foreign tongue—children of French mothers and grandmothers to whom 'home rule for Ireland' is an esoterity that carries no thrill."

There is a reference of interest to Canadians in describing the harbour of Gaspé Basin, where "the fleets of Phipps and Kirke, of Wolfe, and on that October 1, in 1914, the great fleet of Canada with its first contingent for the world struggle against the seed of Pyrrha". It is followed by a very graphic description of a fishing expedition from Grande-Grève.

Though the geology of the region is made a background for the romance and the crowding incidents of its human occupation, there is no detailed account of it in the book. The references to the geological history of Gaspé are, as might be expected, accurate, and some of them of great interest to any intelligent reader. It is quite as it should be to find that Gaspé, which now lives mainly by reason of the salmon and the cod, is a famous source of the earliest fossil fish, Devonian in age, like those of the Old Red sandstone of Scotland.

The only geological subject treated in any detail is that of the building and destruction of the Appalachian mountains, whose final north-easterly curve forms the backbone of the now greatly diminished Shick-shock mountains of Gaspé. To this subject a whole chapter is devoted, and the region is called "a geologist's eden".

Among the practical suggestions embedded in the picturesque

embroidery of the book perhaps the most interesting has to do with the treatment of the Indians of the United States and Canada. The author condemns the American system and says "there is good reason for saying that the more rational treatment accorded by Canada to the tribes has been founded in large measure on the experience which French Canada has taught. . . . Among so-called Christianized Indians, the Protestant Indian is an Indian while the Catholic Indian is a Catholic. . . . Scratch any sort of Protestant Indian and below the skin lie all the aspirations of his natural religion."

In the chapter on the St. Lawrence Pathway he calls attention to the fact that the "lower St. Lawrence, oldest of rivers, is the first of all our greater North American streams whose waters parted under the keel of the white man's craft . . . and of all the world what river can display such panoramas pregnant with history as have paraded its waters?"

L'Île Percée is a book full of interest of the most varied kind, as may be judged from the specimens of Dr. Clarke's work which have been quoted in the foregoing pages, and no other section of Canada has had a more loving and brilliant tribute paid to its mountains, its wave-beaten shores, and its strangely mixed inhabitants, than this neglected corner of French Canada, the first part of the country to be trodden by a white man, and the last part of southern Canada to receive the stimulus of modern development.

A. P. COLEMAN

The Municipality of Toronto: A History. By JESSE EDGAR MIDDLETON.

With the co-operation of a group of special writers. Three volumes.

Toronto: The Dominion Publishing Company. 1923. Pp. 881; 371; illustrations.

THE city of Toronto has not lacked historians. As long ago as 1873 the Rev. Dr. Scadding published that admirable essay in local history, *Toronto of Old*; more recently the late Mr. John Ross Robertson issued, in six volumes, his *Landmarks of Toronto*; and at one time or another several other versions of the history of Toronto have appeared. Now there comes from the press a portly work in three volumes written by Mr. J. E. Middleton and a group of special writers who have assisted him.

There was, perhaps, some justification for this new attempt to tell the story of Toronto's growth. Dr. Scadding's book is now half a century old, and Mr. John Ross Robertson's *Landmarks* are so unorganized and chaotic that one can rarely find in them, without great difficulty, the information desired. Mr. Middleton's volumes have the merit of bringing the history of the city up to date, and of systematizing the work

of his predecessors in such a way that his volumes are admirably adapted for reference purposes. He has divided his work into four parts—"The City in its Beginnings", "The City in its Progress", "The City in its Activities" and "The City in its People", and he has provided an excellent index to the whole.

Most of the chapters have been written by Mr. Middleton himself. In many of these he has not only gathered together the work of his predecessors, but he has done not a little research on his own account. A chapter to which special interest attaches is that on "The Newspapers of Toronto", in which Mr. Middleton has embodied a good deal of information which has come within his personal knowledge. There is, however, in this chapter one serious mistake. Mr. Middleton argues at some length that Joseph Willcocks's *Upper Canada Guardian* (supposed to have been founded in 1807) was never published; and he asserts that "nobody has ever seen a copy of the paper" (p. 415). This is far from being the case. One could easily cite the evidence of a number of persons who have professed to have seen copies of the journal; and as a matter of fact a photographic reproduction of the issue of April 14, 1810, is in the possession of the Niagara Historical Society.

The chapters contributed by special writers are: "Toronto and the Great War", by Lieut.-Col. John A. Cooper; "Toronto Harbour", by Mr. V. M. Roberts; "Railway Transportation", "Banking and Finance", and "Manufacturing", by Mr. A. R. R. Jones; "Trade Unions in Toronto", by Mr. J. M. Conner; "The Medical Profession in Toronto", by Dr. H. B. Anderson; "The Hospitals of Toronto", by Dr. J. N. E. Brown; "The Courts of Upper Canada", by the Hon. Mr. Justice Riddell; "The Catholic Church in Toronto", by Mr. H. F. Mackintosh; and "The Beginnings of the Telegraph", by Mr. Robert F. Easson. An appendix gives a complete list of the members of the Toronto City Council from 1834 to the present.

One could wish that the section entitled "The City in its People" had been omitted. This section occupies nearly half the work, and contains a series of biographical sketches of citizens of Toronto. The sketches are not all written with equally good judgment, and one looks among them in vain for a number of important names; and yet—who knows but that the historian of the future may find in some of these sketches the most valuable and useful part of the whole work?

Women of Red River. By W. J. HEALY. Winnipeg: The Women's Canadian Club. 1923. Pp. 261.

THIS book is almost communal in its making as well as its interest. Its conception with Mrs. R. F. McWilliams and the executive of the Women's

Canadian Club of Winnipeg; the careful preparation "from the recollections of women surviving from the Red River era"; the writing chiefly by Mr. Healy of the Legislative Library in his happiest vein; the illustrations—coloured wood-print and pen and ink sketches by Mr. Walter Phillips, A.R.C.A., and Mr. Comfort; the printing, the binding, the end-papers (the "Selkirk Treaty" map); the very advertising and selling of the book—all bear witness to local enterprise. The result is a tribute of real distinction "to the women of an earlier day". No better book of its kind perhaps has appeared in Canada.

Beginning with the record of the first two white women in the West and the sombre story of the Selkirk settlers, the author has sought to depict the varied interests of the women at Red River through the recollections of surviving witnesses. There is a chapter on the Hudson's Bay circle of influence, another on the Selkirk traditions of old Kildonan, a third on the French community of St. Boniface through the recollections of the aged Sister Laurent, others on the settlements "just below the Forks" and at St. Andrew's, chapters on "Travel and Transport", on "Play and Gaiety", on "The Troubles of 1869-70", and "When the Canadians Came".

The wealth of material thus saved from oblivion is astonishing. The heroic Kate McPherson of the fever-stricken band of "Churchill settlers" in 1813 lived to be eighty-six years of age. Her granddaughter, Mrs. W. R. Black, and many others tell the story of old Kildonan, the life of the women, the building of the old kirk, and how the aged Hugh Polson (p. 78) used to declare "that if an organ were put in the church he would bring Old Bob [his horse] and take the 'kist o' whustles' out of the house of the Lord and dump it by the roadside". Mrs. John Norquay, wife of the only native-born premier of Manitoba, and now eighty-one years of age, is a daughter of a Hudson's Bay officer who came to Red River before the Selkirk settlers. She describes the hay-making, the cooking, the simple wants and contentment of the early days. At the building of old St. Andrew's (p. 151) "several of the men arose before dawn in order to be the first to turn a sod. . . . Archdeacon Cochrane was there before them and had already done more than an hour's work with his spade." "When one of the MacBaths" (p. 151) "lost his hay-stack by a prairie fire, his neighbours put a hundred cart-loads into his farm yard the next day."

The chapter entitled "Comfort and Happiness", perhaps the finest in the book, comes from within the charmed circle of the Hudson's Bay Company. It is not at all "fine writing", for the charm of the tale and of the telling is almost artless in its subtlety. Mrs. Cowan is more than ninety-one years of age. She is now almost the last rose of that

long-past Hudson's Bay summer, and no lovelier fragrance surely has ever come from its sheltered culture than that which is pressed between the pages of this book. Mrs. Cowan's family, the Sinclairs, had been identified with the Company since 1760. Her father, James Sinclair, with Andrew McDermot, had once dared to fight the Company for "free trade", but the old traditions were still in the blood. In these pages "the Emperor", Sir George Simpson, "old Mr. John Bunn" (who remembered the French Revolution), and a host of others are brought to life. At the Company's ball of 1848, when the new dances were coming in, Chief Factor Pruden took his daughter, the belle of the ball, home in anger for dancing the polka. Mrs. Cowan's husband, Dr. Cowan, was in charge of Fort Garry during the Riel Insurrection of 1869-70, and his diary in the Canadian Archives is one of the most valuable of all contemporary records. The glimpses of Consul Taylor, of James McKay, of Bishop Anderson, and of Andrew McDermot "in his little square oak chair with his feet on the rung . . . both hands resting on his cane", are indistinguishable in their vividness and intimacy from the incidents of yesterday. The day before her ninety-first birthday Mrs. Cowan had just been washing her hair, which is white and remarkably thick, and Mr. Healy found her in girlish laughter with her daughters because it was so unmanageably curly. She decided last year not to visit her sister in Oregon because "she could not leave the children". The children are two grandsons, veterans of the Great War, and it is recorded that on the evening they left for the front this gracious old lady went to the train to see them off. To each of them, "after kissing him before he went on board his train, she said the same words, 'Good-night, my dear'."

The historical value of this book is altogether exceptional. Mere reminiscence as the basis of history is notoriously suspect. Even after discounting the usual discrepancies between oral and contemporary documentary evidence, it is usually found that though the recollections of youth and middle age remain clearest, the picture becomes blurred as the narrative approaches the present; that though the atmosphere and touch of intimacy may be excellent the details and even the perspective may be sadly defective. Such shortcomings here are remarkably few. Kate McPherson's name appears in the list of "Churchill settlers" in 1813, not 1812. The details of Dr. Schultz's escape (p. 234) are not accurate. There are minor errors on pp. 63, 88, 176, 189, 237, and the list could be extended. But the general accuracy is remarkable. The account of the raising of the flag by Riel (p. 229) not only lives, but it endows with life Governor McTavish's letter written within a few days of the event: he "almost choked with mortification". There

remains the chief title to value that much is garnered here which would otherwise have been irretrievably lost.

The absence of an index can be accounted for only upon the assumption that the formal service to history may have been after all a by-product. It is a grave omission—gravest in a book of this nature—and it ought to be remedied in the next edition.

CHESTER MARTIN

Builders of the Canadian Commonwealth. By GEORGE H. LOCKE. With an introduction by A. H. U. COLQUHOUN. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1923. (\$2.50.)

As Mr. A. H. U. Colquhoun points out in the introduction to this volume, Canadian literature, although it is rich in biographical materials, is singularly lacking in collections of public speeches. The present reviewer once attempted to beguile an idle hour by compiling a bibliography of the publications in which the speeches of Canadian public men were available, and the list when completed was astonishingly brief, and full of the most surprising gaps. It became apparent that even for many speeches of first-rate historical importance it was still necessary for the enquirer to have recourse to the files of old newspapers or the pages of Hansard.

Dr. Locke, in the volume under review, has not attempted to supply this deficiency. Nothing less than a sort of golden treasury of Canadian public speeches in many volumes would suffice to do this. But in the present volume Dr. Locke has done something at least toward making Canadian readers more familiar with the best fruits of Canadian eloquence, and what he has done, he has done with great judgment and skill. He has selected from the speeches of Canadian public men, from the days of Papineau and Mackenzie to those of Mr. Meighen and Mr. Mackenzie King, short extracts illustrating the qualities of their oratory and dealing as a rule with some important phase of history or politics; and each extract he has prefaced with a biographical sketch—a sketch just sufficient to indicate the speaker's personality and the background of the speech.

One could wish that the extracts from the speeches had been less brief. A reader can hardly obtain an adequate idea of the eloquence of a speaker like Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Sir George Ross by reading a mere goblet, and one almost regrets that Dr. Locke did not think fit to give us a few complete speeches rather than a miscellany of short passages. But this, no doubt, would not have been wholly in harmony with his object in writing the book, which was to catch and stimulate the interest of his readers in "a history of our country as revealed in the

speeches of her public men". From this point of view, Dr. Locke has chosen his materials with real discrimination.

Parties and Party Leaders. By ANSON DANIEL MORSE. With an introduction by DWIGHT WHITNEY MORROW. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 1923. (\$2.50.)

SOME of his pupils and admirers have published under this title a collection of the essays and papers of the late Professor Morse of Amherst College. Most of these papers have to do with the history of political parties in Great Britain and the United States; and it is worthy of note that in this field Professor Morse was one of the pioneers. Though in some cases written many years ago, they may still be read by students of political science with great interest and benefit. But the chief reason for calling attention to them is the fact that there are included in the volume two brief papers affecting the commercial relations between Canada and the United States. These papers are entitled "Commercial Union with Canada" and "The Commercial Relations of American Countries". They are a frank discussion, from an American point of view, of Canada's "ultimate destiny", and it is interesting to know that Professor Morse came to regard the political union of Canada with the United States as no longer likely, although he was a strong advocate of commercial union. "The fact is," he says, "that nature and history have made the Canadians and ourselves economically one people; and the loss which the denial of this fact entails Canada is less able to bear than we." Anyone who is interested in learning what a profound and suggestive student of American political conditions thought of the future relations of Canada and the United States will not regret a perusal of Professor Morse's pages.

W. S. WALLACE

Federalism in North America. By HERBERT ARTHUR SMITH. Boston: The Chipman Law Publishing Co. 1923. Pp. v, 328.

THIS volume is the outcome of experience in lecturing to law students in McGill University. If the essays contained in it form, even substantially, Professor Smith's lectures, we must say at once that his students are to be congratulated. They are admirable examples of essay and of lecture alike. Technical elaborations, ponderous arguments, piled-up evidences are remarkable by their absence. On the other hand, Professor Smith's successful treatment of his subject is only rendered possible because of the width of his knowledge and of the security which that gives. He is not in the least content to re-hash the generally known material, either as an exercise in literature or as lordly

condescension to the law student. Did space permit, it would be possible to point out his wide knowledge of American and Canadian constitutional law and his thoughtful appreciation of subtleties and of difficulties, which provide him with solid foundations for a comparative study of "the broad principles upon which the institutions rest" of North American federalism.

In admirable chapters he deals from this angle with the federal idea, the executive and judicial powers, external relations, the state and its citizens. Appendices contain the constitution of the United States and the British North America Acts, 1867-1915. These chapters form a first-class introduction to the subject, and we know of no book which we would put more gladly than Professor Smith's into the hands of a beginner—indeed into those of many a pedantic expert. The root of the matter is here.

It is interesting, too, to note, as the book develops, the blending of lawyer and political thinker. Mr. Smith begins with the strict letter. Here and there in the earlier part we note legalism struggling for a moment with realism, until finally Mr. Smith concludes with a very interesting political study of Canada's foreign relations and of the problems of the Commonwealth and with a statement of the very heart of all government—intelligence, simplicity, and a constant reaction of forms to the national life.

There is one criticism which we should like to make. We would have welcomed a much fuller discussion of the Dominion's power to disallow provincial Acts, especially for grounds of inequity and bad principles and not as *ultra vires*. The strict adherence to the law in this connection is going to open an old sore. No province that is self-respecting will surrender its sovereignty under sections 92 and 93 of the B.N.A. Act, 1867, at the arbitrary dictation of the federal minister of Justice. In addition, Nova Scotia is acting in a manner which may become very dangerous. It requested the federal government to disallow one Act, and it informed the federal government that it was quite willing to concur in the disallowance of another. Both these Acts were government measures. We may well ask, where does provincial responsible government come in? Is this the newest Canadian contribution to the science of politics? Nor does the matter rest there. In connection with the second Act, it was not claimed that it was *ultra vires*, but the present minister of Justice disallowed it as overriding judgments of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court and of the Supreme Court of Canada. This, too, is an extraordinary position. The "High Court of Parliament" is taking a new place in Canadian jurisprudence. Mr. Smith's book will undoubtedly reach a second edition, and in this

matter he has an admirable opportunity to give us an addition to his excellent blend of law and politics.

W. P. M. KENNEDY

Hunters of the Great North. By VILHJAHMUR STEFANSSON. London: George G. Harrap & Company. [1923.] Pp. 288; illustrations.

MR. STEFANSSON has made another book. After relating the experiences and geographical results of his second and third Arctic expeditions, in works published in 1913 and 1921 respectively, he now goes back to his first expedition of 1906-7 and gives a detailed narrative of what happened to him during that winter. He seems to have composed it from the entries in his diary, but he gives few dates, and it reads like a free composition from facts and events noted rather than a chronological account of an expedition. Like all Mr. Stefansson's books on the Arctic regions it is interesting and full of curious information on the habits and mental characteristics of the Eskimos. Some stories may excite a healthy scepticism, as when he says that he was told, and believed, that a Eskimo child of eight years "had been awake continuously for five days and nights, playing all the time" (p. 80). There is considerable repetition from the author's earlier books in the description of Eskimo peculiarities and pursuits, and even whole paragraphs and pages are taken over *verbatim*, as for instance the accounts of how to avoid having one's face frozen, and how to hunt seals. The illustration, too, opposite page 236, entitled "Autumn camp of caribou hunters a hundred miles north of the Arctic Circle", has already done duty as "Camp in woods of Horton river" in *My Life with the Eskimo*.

H. H. LANGTON

Down the Mackenzie through the Great Lone Land. By FULLERTON WALDO. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xii, 251.

THIS is an account by an energetic American globe-trotter of a journey in the summer of 1922 from Edmonton to Fort McPherson on the Mackenzie River delta. We are wont to regard the Mackenzie district as almost untouched by the hand of man; but what would Alexander Mackenzie have thought of this traveller's tale of villages, oil-wells, mission-schools, vegetable gardens, traders, and prospectors along the course of his lonely river? The first three hundred miles to Waterways are covered by rail "at an average of not quite nine miles an hour". Thence there is continuous navigation by steamboat for almost 1,500 miles, except for one break at Fitzgerald on the Slave River, where rapids necessitate a long portage and transshipment to another boat. It is a trip which few tourists can have made for the pleasure of seeing new lands, though there are no special hardships involved apart from mos-

quitoes, voracious bull-dog flies, and starved Indian dogs. The book is no more than good journalism, filled with numerous "interviews" with promising characters ranging in rank from the saintly Bishop Grouard to the Eskimo murderer Omiak, and illustrated with admirable photographs. But it has distinct historical value as a vivid and sympathetic picture of life in the Canadian northland in 1922; and it will be used by future historians when civilization has advanced, just as we are now using the journals of travellers in Ontario a hundred years ago.

H. HUME WRONG

Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies. By MARIUS BARBEAU. Illustrations by W. LANGDON KIHN. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1923. Pp. 208.

THIS is an attractive book, both in its outward appearance and its inner content. It is a relief to read of Indian life depicted by such a master of all its details as Mr. Barbeau, after the imaginary impossibilities that the writers of fiction provide for the public. Mr. Barbeau is a trained investigator; he has gone deeply down into aboriginal cultures with sympathy and keen discernment, and he brings all his sympathetic ideas to popularize his subject, for the book is evidently intended to appeal to the general reader. It should succeed. Such life stories as that of the Indian seer, Beeny, and the Stony usurper, Tchatka, contain so much of human nature that they are interesting from this quality alone. But when there is added the interest of the Indian *milieu* described with unerring touches, and the motives for action, set forth with real understanding, these sketches become highly important. Mr. Barbeau has not failed to observe the strange blend made by the fusion of pagan notions with the teaching of the early missionaries or with rumours of such teachings.

The tone in which the sketches are written is regretful; the comparison is between a former freedom and a present bondage: a tone that it is difficult to avoid if one sympathizes with Canada's native population. But there is constant evidence throughout these pages that the years before the white man came were not all serene, and that Indian life was subject to desperate vicissitudes. Regrets are due for the disappearance of a native culture so well designed for the needs of a people, but the regret for the vanishing race may be overstrained. The Blackfoot nation is greatly reduced, but the remnant is progressing and is collectively secure. It is as certain of preservation as the Iroquois, whose distinct racial type still exists. Our present and active sympathy may be reserved for the hunting Indians who are at the mercy of rival traders, and who suffer all the hardship of an earlier time without any

compensating advantages from civilization. Mr. Barbeau's book fosters such sympathy, which grows as one comes to understand better aboriginal psychology. The illustrations are interesting. The artist, Mr. W. Langdon Kihn, has evidently thought of his sitters (all the portraits are authentic) in terms of design, and frequently the native costume and the pattern it makes are more characteristic than the native head, although the result is harmonious. The reproductions in colour are excellent. It is a comment on Mr. Barbeau's text of the vanishing race that not a few of these aborigines have no Indian names.

DUNCAN CAMPBELL SCOTT

Nordwest Amerikanische Indianerkunst. Von LEONHARD ADAM. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth & Co. 1923. Pp. 44; 48 illustrations.

THIS monograph is the seventeenth volume of the "Orbis Pictus" collection, dealing with various national arts. Like all the books of this series, it is well printed, and the illustrations are excellent.

Herr Adam has set himself a difficult task. His work is not intended for the student; on the other hand, the subject is so remote for the ordinary reader that it could only be made comprehensible by a very lucid text. Here Herr Adam has failed, for he is often obscure even to the student. He is not free from the faults of the German "Kunsthistoriker". Aside from this, he has devoted too much attention to the ethnographical side of the question, and not enough to the artistic side *per se*, which, we take it, is the main object of this collection.

Herr Adam is well acquainted with his subject, though nothing shows that he has been in actual touch with the North West Amerind and his art on the spot. Indeed, the fact that all the plates, with the exception of two (10 and 38), are reproductions from specimens in the Berlin Ethnographical Museum seems to prove this. For this reason the illustrations give only a very incomplete view of this branch of native art. At the same time, the plates, especially Nos. 1, 3, 4, 18, 21, 25, 27-9, 32-5, and 41, are excellently chosen, intensely interesting, and instructive. It is a pity that such an important section of Amerind art and culture as basketry has been wholly neglected. On page 6, the author draws attention to the disastrous effect contact with Europeans has had on native art. He speaks lucidly about the relation of Amerind art to totemism, though his interpretation of totemism is too narrow (pp. 9-13). He is wrong in inferring (p. 10) that only animals can become totems. The spirit of almost anything may become a totem. "Die grimmigste Kälte im Winter wechselt mit äusserordentlicher Sommerhitze ab" (p. 8) is hardly a statement that could be made by anyone acquainted with the North West Coast. The author has gone

to the heart of his theme in saying, "So haben wir keine profane Kunst, sondern eine Kunst vor uns, die . . . ihrem Ursprung nach religiös ist" (p. 7). But this applies to a great section of European art too.

It is a moot question whether the shapes of fat and oil bowls and spoons were formed in imitation of oil and fat-producing animals. Rather, it would seem, they represented those of the owners' totems. Indeed, if this were not so, how does Herr Adam explain the spoon with an eagle as handle on plate 47? The clubs on plate 48 are probably war clubs and only incidentally used for killing large fish. The right-hand one of the three is surely a tomahawk with a double point for "skull-cracking".

The bibliography is very meagre. No note is taken of Mr. Hill-Tout's work on the Salish and Déné. How is the non-student of Amerind philology to know the pronunciation of such words as Q!lla'-igAña na'as (p. 39) and Baxbakualanuxsiwaē (p. 40), unless he is aware that (!) is the "fortis", (a) the continental (a), (')=a hiatus, n=ng, etc.? An index and a map would have enhanced the utility of Herr Adam's book, and the plates should have been supplied with short descriptive texts. But these are mere blemishes. The author has broken new ground in Germany.

L. HAMILTON

Hindustani Workers on the Pacific Coast. By R. K. DAS. Berlin: Walter De Gruyter & Co. 1923. Pp. viii, 126.

DR. RAJANI KANTA DAS, who, according to the title-page, is now lecturer in Economics at New York University, and who was formerly Special Agent in the Department of Labour of the United States, tells us in the preface of his book that "although the Hindustanees in America are insignificant in number, they represent a great nation. The interpretation of their life to the American people is one of the objects of this study." This monograph, which is written in somewhat quaint English, is certainly the outcome of prolonged studies. Dr. Das has, of course, dealt with the Hindus in Canada. But in spite of the comparative length of the book students of Canadian affairs will find little of value that is not contained in the *Canada Year Books*. The work is very impartially done. A good deal—nay, the bulk of it—has really nothing to do with the matter suggested by the title. Indeed, we feel that Dr. Das has missed an opportunity to deal with a very interesting subject that has many aspects. In reference to Canada, he has missed the imperial problems raised by the presence of Hindustanees in the Dominion. On the other hand, much in the book is the ordinary information found

in immigration and railway folder literature. In fact, the whole volume could have easily been "boiled down" into twenty-five pages, and lost nothing by the process.

L. HAMILTON

The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs, 1922. By J. CASTELL HOPKINS. Toronto: The Canadian Review Company. 1923. Pp. 1046; illustrations.

THE appearance of this, the twenty-second volume of the *Canadian Annual Review*, has almost synchronized with the lamented death of its author. For twenty-two years Mr. Castell Hopkins wrote, almost wholly with his own hand, a series of annual volumes the value of which it would be difficult to over-estimate, and the like of which is not to be found even in countries much larger and wealthier than Canada. Their encyclopaedic range, their scrupulous accuracy, their impartial tone, place them in a class by themselves. The reader may perhaps have reason to complain occasionally of diffuseness, but never of scantiness of information, inaccuracy, or bias. Indeed, one may read volume after volume of the series without discovering whether Mr. Castell Hopkins was a Liberal or a Conservative, an Orangeman or a Roman Catholic, a Communist or a Capitalist. To say this is to pay a very great tribute to a writer who, outside the pages of his *Annual Review*, could express the most decided opinions.

As was natural, the *Canadian Annual Review* has grown from small things to great. Year after year Mr. Castell Hopkins's industry and zeal added one new feature after another, until we find the latest issue covering almost every conceivable phase of current history in Canada. It surveys not only political affairs, imperial, dominion, and provincial, but it deals also with Canadian literature, art and music, education, science and journalism, the work of the churches, and the work of organizations for social betterment, as well as a great variety of other national bodies. A useful feature of the present volume is an historical supplement which Mr. Castell Hopkins here introduced for the first time. For many years he had published in a financial and industrial supplement such documents as the annual addresses of bank presidents and other leading financiers. In the present volume he brought together in a second supplement a number of addresses and documents relating to current political history—an address by Sir Clifford Sifton on "The Constitutional Status of Canada"; one by Sir George Perley on "The Canadian High Commissioner in London"; one by Mr. Otto H. Kahn on "The United States and the British Empire", as well as an account of the history and work of the Department of Mines by Mr. William

McInnis, and a survey of the work of the Queen's Own Rifles of Canada in the years 1922-23.

It will be difficult to replace Mr. Castell Hopkins as author and editor of the *Canadian Annual Review*: but it is unthinkable that the work which he founded and carried on so admirably should now be suspended. The *Canadian Annual Review* made itself, in Mr. Castell Hopkins's hands, an indispensable instrument of reference work in Canadian libraries and offices; it has laid the future historians of Canada under a profound debt to the memory of its author; and it would be a grave misfortune if it were now to cease publication.

W. S. WALLACE

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

(Notice in this section does not preclude a more extended review later)

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITH THE EMPIRE

"AUSTRALIAN." *White migration to the Dominions* (Contemporary Review, October, 1923, pp. 464-470).

A discussion of inter-imperial migration from an Australian point of view.

BEAUCHAMP, Earl. *Preference and the Imperial Economic Conference* (Contemporary Review, October, 1923, pp. 426-433).

A paper opposing the proposal that Great Britain should at the Imperial Conference of 1923 grant a preference to the trade of the Dominions.

CHIPMAN, WARWICK. *The Empire at the cross-roads* (Dalhousie Review, October, 1923, pp. 317-329).

A discussion of the problems of the Imperial Conference of 1923, from the point of view of an avowed imperialist.

DEMANGEON, ALBERT. *L'Empire britannique: Étude de géographie coloniale*. Paris: Librairie Armand Colin. 1923. Pp. viii, 280.

To be reviewed later.

EGGLESTON, F. W. *Foreign policy and the Dominions* (Nineteenth Century and After, October, 1923, pp. 593-603).

A discussion of the problems of imperial foreign policy by an Australian publicist.

EWART, JOHN S. *Canada breaks her shell* (Dalhousie Review, October, 1923, pp. 304-316).

A survey, by the author of *The Kingdom Papers*, of some of the problems confronting the Canadian representatives at the Imperial Conference of 1923.

HALDANE, Right Hon. Viscount. *The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council* (Empire Review, July, 1923, pp. 713-721).

A valuable description of the final court of appeal for the Dominions.

MACINNES, C. M. *White migration to the Dominions* (Contemporary Review, October, 1923, pp. 471-478).

A discussion of inter-imperial migration from a Canadian point of view.

MILNER, Rt. Hon. Viscount. *Problems of the Imperial Conference* (Empire Review, October, 1923, pp. 1058-1069).

A discussion of the questions before the Imperial Conference of 1923.

MURDOCH, WALTER. *Alfred Deakin: a sketch*. London: Constable & Co. 1923. Pp. vii, 320.

A biography of a former prime minister of Australia, containing some account of the Imperial Conference of 1907.

SALMON, EDWARD. *A microcosm of empire* (United Empire, September, 1923, pp. 543-545).

An account of the preparations for the British Empire Exhibition.

SEELY, Major-Gen. the Right Hon. JOHN BERNARD. *The Empire and the air* (United Empire, October, 1923, pp. 579-582).

A plea for imperial co-operation in regard to aviation.

The story of the British people. Revised edition. Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons. 1923. Pp. 371.

A new and extensively revised edition of a school history of the British Empire, especially adapted for use in Canadian schools.

WEBB, SYDNEY [SIDNEY ?]. *The Labour party and the Conference* (Empire Review, October, 1923, pp. 1140-1148).

A discussion of the attitude of the British Labour party toward the problems of the Imperial Conference of 1923.

WELLS, H. G. *The future of the British Empire* (Empire Review, October, 1923, pp. 1071-1079).

A view of modern British imperialism, by a distinguished English publicist who adheres to the tenets of the Labour party.

II. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

LOCKE, GEORGE H. *Builders of the Canadian Commonwealth.* With an introduction by A. H. U. COLQUHOUN. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. [1923.] Pp. xiii, 317. (\$2.50.)

Reviewed on page 358.

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Premières organisations juives au Canada* (Revue Nationale, octobre, 1923, pp. 301-309).

An account of the early history of the Jewish race in Canada.

Map collection of the Public Reference Library of the City of Toronto, Canada. Toronto: Public Library. 1923. Pp. 111.

An admirably prepared catalogue of the map collection in the Public Reference Library of the City of Toronto, a collection especially rich in maps of Canada.

MCNAIR, JAMES BIRTLEY (comp.). *McNair, McNear, and McNeir genealogies.* Chicago: Published by the Author. 1923. Pp. vii, 315.

Genealogy of a family with a Canadian branch.

RODDIS, Lt.-Commander LOUIS H. *The Norsemen in the New World.* Minneapolis, Minn.: Augsburg Publishing House. 1923. Pp. 70.

An interesting survey of the problems connected with the Norse voyages to America, and especially of the question of the authenticity of the Kensington runestone; but not a new contribution to the subject.

ROY, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Les petites choses de notre histoire.* Cinquième série. Lévis. 1923. Pp. 303.

Reviewed on page 335.

Selected papers from the transactions of the Canadian Military Institute, 1916-21. (Canadian Military Institute: No. 22.) Toronto: Printed for the Canadian Military Institute by the Murray Printing Co. [1923.] Pp. 126.

Contains the following papers: "Canadian cavalry in action", by Major R. S. Timmins; "Old and new military service in Canada", by the late Benjamin Sulte; "Fighting the submarine from the air", by Major D. Hallam; "A citizen army", by Major H. M. Mowat; and "Artillery battle at Vimy", by General Sir E. W. Morrison.

SONNENSCHEIN, WILLIAM SWAN. *The best books: A reader's guide to the choice of the best available books (over 100,000) in every department of science, art, and literature, with the dates of the first and last editions and the price, size, and publisher's name (both English and American) of each book.* With complete authors and subjects index. Third edition (entirely rewritten). Part III. London: George Routledge & Sons. 1923. Pp. 1067-1679.

Contains a working bibliography of Canadian history.

SULTE, BENJAMIN. *Le mot "Canada"* (Revue Nationale, octobre, 1923, pp. 299-300).
A note on the origin of the word Canada.

(2) New France

[JOHN CARTER BROWN LIBRARY.] *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library.* Vol. II, Parts I and II. [Providence: Published by the Library.] 1923. Pp. 522.

Continuation of the catalogue of an American library which specializes in early Americana. The present volume, which covers the period from 1600 to 1658, contains many items relating to the history of New France.

LAPALICE, O.-M.-H. *François Henri de Tkiersant* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1923, pp. 337-341).

A sketch of the life of a French-Canadian *seigneur*, who was born in 1716.

Les congés de traite accordés en 1717 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1923, pp. 271-274).

A document containing a list of those who had licences for the fur-trade in New France in 1717.

Roy, P.-G. *Le bourgeois sous le régime français* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1923, pp. 225-228).

A note on what constituted *bourgeoisie* during the French régime in Canada.

— *Le site du fort de Jacques Cartier sur les bords de la rivière Laiet, à Québec* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1923, pp. 257-259).

A note on the determination of the site of the little fort which Cartier built in 1635 near the present site of Quebec.

— *Un projet d'expédition de M. d'Iberville contre Boston* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1923, pp. 289-294).

An account of the proposal made in the year 1700 by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville for an attack on Boston.

(3) British North America before 1867

CHAPAIIS, THOMAS. *Cours d'histoire du Canada.* Tome IV: 1833-1841. Québec: Librairie Garneau. 1923. Pp. x, 335. (\$1.50.)

Reviewed on page 347.

COLQUHOUN, A. H. U. *A victim of Scottish Canadians* (Dalhousie Review, October, 1923, pp. 286-290).

Some account of Samuel Hull Wilcocke, an English journalist and controversialist who flourished about 1822 in Montreal, and who was driven from Canada by "the Scotch party" in Lower Canada.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Encore un chanson de 1838* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1923, pp. 308-309).

Another political song of the times of the rebellion of 1837-38 which M. Massicotte has rescued from oblivion.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Pierre Ducalvet inculpé en 1775* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1923, pp. 303-305).

Proofs of the disloyalty of Pierre Ducalvet, at the time of the American invasion of 1775, and some other details about his life.

NURSEY, WALTER R. *The story of Isaac Brock (General Sir Isaac Brock, K.B.), hero, defender and saviour of Upper Canada, 1812.* Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1923. Pp. 237.

A fourth edition, enlarged and revised, of a book first published in 1908.

SNIDER, C. H. J. *The glorious "Shannon's" old blue duster, and other faded flags of fadeless fame.* With a foreword from the Rt. Hon. Sir WILLIAM THOMAS WHITE, K.C.M.G. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. [1923.] Pp. xv, 430; illustrations.

To be reviewed later.

The William Hodge Papers (Publications of the Buffalo Historical Society, vol. xxvi, 1922, pp. 169-314).

Reminiscences of a pioneer of Buffalo, in which are contained a number of pages dealing with the War of 1812 on the Niagara frontier.

(4) The Dominion of Canada

HOPKINS, J. CASTELL. *The Canadian annual review of public affairs, 1922.* Toronto: The Canadian Review Company. 1923. Pp. 1046; illustrations. (\$8.00.)

Reviewed on page 365.

LOWELL, A. LAWRENCE. *The treaty-making power of Canada* (Foreign Affairs, September 15, 1923, pp. 12-22).

A discussion, by the president of Harvard University, of the relation of the Dominions to the treaty-making power, with especial reference to the Halibut Fishery Convention of 1922.

MAVOR, JAMES. *My windows on the street of the world.* Two volumes. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1923. Pp. xiii, 400; viii, 452; illustrations. (\$10.00.)

To be reviewed later.

MORSE, ANSON DANIEL. *Parties and party leaders.* With an introduction by DWIGHT WHITNEY MORROW. (The Amherst Books.) Boston: Marshall Jones Company. 1923. Pp. xlvi, 267.

Reviewed on page 359.

VÉZINA, FRANÇOIS. *L'exposé budgétaire de M. Fielding* (Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, septembre, 1923, pp. 287-298).

An analysis, by a professor of the École des Hautes Études commerciales, of the Canadian budget for 1923-24.

III. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

CROWELL, EDWIN. *A history of Barrington township and vicinity, Shelburne county, Nova Scotia, 1604-1870, with a biographical and genealogical appendix.* Yarmouth, Nova Scotia: the Author. [1923.] Pp. 603.

To be reviewed later.

ROGERS, GRACE MCLEOD. *Stories of the land of Evangeline.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. [1923.] Pp. 341; illustrations.

A collection of charming tales from the history of Nova Scotia, originally published in 1891, but now issued in a new and revised edition.

(2) The Province of Quebec

LACROIX, Abbé E. *Nos archives paroissiales* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1923, pp. 232-235).

A brief essay on the value of parochial archives.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Les coroners de Montréal, 1764-1923* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1923, pp. 295-297).

Biographical details about the coroners of Montreal since the British conquest.

L'escrime et les maîtres d'armes à Montréal (Bulletin des recherches historiques, septembre, 1923, pp. 260-263).

A history of fencing in Montreal.

Les débuts de la photographie à Montréal (Bulletin des recherches historiques, août, 1923, pp. 237-238).

A brief account of the beginnings of photography in Montreal.

Les protonotaires de Montréal, 1794-1923 (Bulletin des recherches historiques, novembre, 1923, pp. 324-334).

Biographical details regarding the successive prothonotaries of Montreal since 1794.

MONTREULL, CLAUDE. *La vérité choquée* Montréal: 860, Rue St. Denis. 1923. Pp. 246.

A review of social conditions in Montreal.

MORIN, VICTOR. *La ville aux clochers dans la verdure (The city of spires in the green)*. Montréal: La Cie de Publication de La Patrie. 1923. Pp. 61.

An historical and statistical sketch of Montreal, written both in French and English, on opposite pages.

ROU, PIERRE-GEORGES. *Le vieux Québec*. Première série. Québec. 1923. Pp. 300. Reviewed on page 335.

(3) The Province of Ontario

Fort Sainte Marie II., Christian Island, Ontario, and palisaded Huron village (either St. Louis or St. Ignace II), County of Simcoe, Ontario. (Historic Sites Series, No. 5.) Canadian National Parks, Historic Sites. 1923. Pp. 24.

Extracts from the Jesuit Relations describing the destruction of the Huron missions by the Iroquois in 1649-50.

GREEN, ERNEST, and others. *The battle of Cook's Mills and the dedication of its monument*. Welland, Canada: Tribune-Telegraph Press. 1923. Pp. 23.

A beautifully printed pamphlet giving an account of the monument erected at Cook's Mills, in the Niagara peninsula, to commemorate the battle fought there on October 19, 1814.

MIDDLETON, JESSE EDGAR, and others. *The municipality of Toronto: a history*. Three vols. Toronto: The Dominion Publishing Company. 1923. Pp. 881; 391; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 354.

Niagara Historical Society, 35. Niagara: Published by the Niagara Historical Society. 1923. Pp. 85. (50c.)

Contains the following: "Capt. James Matthew Hamilton, 5th Regiment of Foot", by Miss Janet Carnochan; "Capt. J. M. Hamilton and Descendants", by Basil G. Hamilton; "Rev. Robt. Addison, M.A.", by the Rev. C. H. E. Smith; a number of papers on the Polish training camp at Niagara during the Great War; and a sermon preached by the Rev. John Burns at Stamford, Ontario, on June 3, 1918.

The Madawaska Club, Go-Home Bay, 1898-1923. [Toronto: Privately printed. 1923.] Pp. 56; illustrations.

A history of a summer settlement of members of the University of Toronto in the southern part of the Georgian Bay.

(4) The Western Provinces

[CANADA: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.] *Natural resources of the prairie provinces: A brief compilation respecting the development of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta.* Prepared in the Natural Resources Intelligence Service, under the direction of F. C. C. LYNCH, Superintendent. Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1923. Pp. 57.

A pamphlet containing mainly statistical material.

GROULX, Abbé LIONEL. *Monseigneur Taché* (L'Action Française, octobre, 1923, pp. 211-223).

A sketch of the life of the famous Roman Catholic bishop of Saint-Boniface who presided over the early destinies of the province of Manitoba.

HEALY, W. J. *Women of Red River, being a book written from the recollections of women surviving from the Red River era.* A tribute to the women of an earlier day by the Women's Canadian Club. Winnipeg: Russell, Lang & Co. 1923. Pp. 261; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 355.

KINGSTON, C. S. *Introduction of cattle into the Pacific Northwest* (Washington Historical Quarterly, July, 1923, pp. 163-185).

An interesting note on the economic history of British Columbia and the Pacific slope.

LEWIS, WILLIAM S., and MURAKAMI, NAOJIRO (eds.). *Ranald MacDonald: The narrative of his early life on the Columbia under the Hudson's Bay Company's régime; of his experiences in the Pacific whale fishery; and of his great adventure to Japan; with a sketch of his later life on the western frontier.* Published for the Eastern Washington State Historical Society, Spokane, Washington, by the Inland American Printing Company. 1923. Pp. 333.

Reviewed on page 349.

LEWIS, WILLIAM S., and PHILLIPS, PAUL C. (eds.). *The journal of John Work, a chief-trader of the Hudson's Bay Co. during his expedition from Vancouver to the Flatheads and Blackfeet of the Pacific Northwest . . . with an account of the fur trade in the northwest, and life of Work.* Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1923. Pp. 209. (\$6.00.)

To be reviewed later.

MARSH, E. L. *Where the buffalo roamed: The story of the Canadian west.* Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1923. Pp. 257.

A new, enlarged, and revised edition of a little history of the Canadian West, published originally in 1908, for the use of juvenile readers.

NUTE, GRACE LEE. *James Dickson: a filibuster in Minnesota in 1836* (Mississippi Valley Historical Review, September, 1923, pp. 127-140).

A paper, based on careful research, recounting a curious and hitherto forgotten episode in the history of the Red River settlement—the attempt in 1836 of a party of American filibusters to set up "an Indian kingdom" in the Hudson's Bay Company territories.

RONDEAU, Abbé CLOVIS. *La Montagne de Bois (Willow-Bunch, Sask.): Histoire de la Saskatchewan méridionale.* Mise en ordre par le Rév. P. ALEXIS, O.M.C. Québec: Imp. L'Action Sociale. 1923. Pp. iii, 291.

The history of a French-Canadian community in Southern Saskatchewan.

WALLACE, J. N. *Early fur trading posts in Alberta* (Annual Report of the Alberta Land Surveyor's Association, 1922, pp. 11-20).

Reviewed on page 350.

IV. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

[CANADA: DOMINION FUEL BOARD.] *Interim report of the Dominion Fuel Board.* Ottawa: The King's Printer. 1923. Pp. 31; charts.

"A statement of the broad facts relating to Canada's past and present position in regard to fuel supplies, coupled with a review of the various methods now advanced for strengthening that position."

CLARKE, JOHN M. *L'Ile Percée, the finial of the St. Lawrence, or Gaspé Flaneries, being a blend of reveries and realities; of history and science; of description and narrative; as also a signpost to the traveler.* New Haven: Yale University Press. Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1923. Pp. xii, 203. (\$3.00.)

Reviewed on page 352.

JACQUES, NORMAN. *Training farms in western Canada* (Empire Review, October, 1923, pp. 1162-1168).

A paper advocating a policy of giving the British immigrant in western Canada a local training in agriculture.

LE BOURDAIS, D. M. *The adventure of Wrangel Island* (Empire Review, October, 1923, pp. 1125-1133).

An account of the tragic attempt in 1921 of a party of Canadians to occupy Wrangel Island in the Arctic Ocean.

McDIARMID, F. A. *Geographical determinations of the Canadian Arctic expedition* (Geographical Journal, October, 1923, pp. 293-302).

A short description of the contributions to the map made by Mr. Stefansson's Arctic expedition of 1913-1918.

RABOT, CHARLES. *Rasmussen's expedition in the American Arctic archipelago* (Geographical Review, October, 1923, pp. 625-627).

A note on the progress made up to the end of 1922 by the explorer Rasmussen, in his exploration of the northern shores of North America from the northwestern extremity of Hudson Bay to Bering Strait.

STEFANSSON, VILHJALMUR. *Hunters of the Great North.* London: George G. Harrap & Company. [1923.] Pp. 288; illustrations and map.

Reviewed on page 361.

WALDO, FULLERTON. *Down the Mackenzie through the Great Lone Land.* New York: The Macmillan Company. 1923. Pp. xii, 251; illustrations.

Reviewed on page 361.

WRIGHT, JOHN KIRTLAND. *Aids to geographical research: Bibliographies and periodicals.* (American Geographical Society: Research series no. 10.) New York: American Geographical Society. 1923. Pp. xiii, 243.

An admirable and most useful guide to the bibliographical and periodical literature relating to geography, including the geography of Canada.

V. EDUCATIONAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY

FALCONER, Sir ROBERT. *University federation in Toronto* (Dalhousie Review, October, 1923, pp. 279-285).

An account of the origin and working of university federation—"a distinctly Canadian creation"—in the University of Toronto.

HAM, GEORGE H. *The miracle man of Montreal*. Toronto: The Musson Book Company. [1922.] Pp. 68.

An account of the apparently miraculous cures effected by Brother André, a member of the Congregation of the Holy Cross at Montreal.

ROY, P.-G. *Ouvrages publiés par M. Léon-Pamphile Lemay* (Bulletin des recherches historiques, octobre, 1923, pp. 318-319).

A bibliography of the works of the French-Canadian poet Lemay.

VI. ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

(CONTRIBUTED BY E. SAPIR.)

ADAM, LEONHARD. *Nordwest-Amerikanische Indianerkunst*. Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth & Co. 1923. Pp. 44.

Reviewed on p. 363.

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Indian days in the Canadian Rockies*. Toronto: Macmillan Co. 1923. Pp. 208.

Reviewed on p. 362.

An artist among the Northwest Indians (Arts and Decoration, May, 1923, pp. 26-27, 95).

Comments intended to serve as background for a number of sketches of the Nootka, Kootenay, and Stony Indians by W. Langdon Kihn.

BENEDICT, RUTH FULTON. *The concept of the guardian spirit in North America*. (Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, no. 29.) 1923. Pp. 97.

A well-documented and carefully reasoned treatment of the "manitou" in aboriginal North America, much of the material and all of the argument being of interest to Canadian anthropology. Mrs. Benedict discusses the various types of guardian spirit experience, the element which they all have in common, and the relation of the manitou idea to other cultural features, of an economic, social, or religious order, with which it becomes associated. It is clearly demonstrated that such associations as those with puberty ceremonials, with totemism, with secret societies, with inherited rank, or with black magic are in no sense psychologically inevitable, but are the resultants of specific historical processes, each peculiar to its time and place.

EILBY, JULIAN W. *Among unknown Eskimo*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1923. Pp. 280.

A very readable picture of native life in Baffin Island in the days before contact with the whites had changed the native culture. The material of the volume is based partly on the author's own information, partly on the classic memoir by Boas on *The Central Eskimo*. There is little new for the ethnologist, but the book will please a public that is not too insistent on scientific accuracy.

BOGORAS, WALDEMAR. *Chukchee*. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40, "Handbook of American Indian Languages", Part 2, edited by FRANZ BOAS.) Washington: Government Printing Office. 1922. Pp. 631-903.

An important study of the Chukchee language of northeastern Siberia and of the closely related Koryak and Kamchadal. This work, though not coming strictly within the scope of a Canadian bibliography, deserves mention here because of a possible genetic relationship between Chukchee and Eskimo-Aleut. Though it is too early to speak definitely, one can even now see certain important formal analogies between the two groups as well as striking differences. If these analogies should prove significant on close study, the question of the prehistory of the Eskimo is at once put on a new basis.

BOURASSA, Mr. (FORT VERMILION). *How the Beaver Indians regained summer* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report, 1921-22, being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 100-101).

A tale of the Beaver Indians, an Athabaskan tribe of the Peace River country. BURKHOLDER, MABEL. *Before the white man came: Indian legends and stories*. Illustrated by C. M. MANLY. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1923. Pp. 317.

An assortment of Indian tales from all parts of the Dominion, good reading for children. Most of the stories centre around topographical features, such as Iroquois Falls or the Fairy Cave at Banff. Needless to say, the purely scientific value of the collection is almost nil, but it is only fair to add that the author makes no claim to presenting her material from the folk-lorist's standpoint. An acknowledgment of the sources used, however, would not have been amiss.

BUSCHAN, GEORG (ed.). *Illustrierte Völkerkunde*. In zwei Bänden. I: *Vergleichende Völkerkunde, Amerika, Afrika*. By Dr. RICHARD LASCH, Dr. WALTER KRICKEBERG, Dr. ARTUR HABERLANDT. Stuttgart: Strecker und Schröder. 1922. Pp. 686.

A reprint of the second, greatly enlarged edition of Volume I of a work which, in its present form, is probably the best descriptive book on general ethnography. Pp. 52-427, the work of Dr. Krickeberg, take up the aborigines of the entire American continent. The treatment is compact and adequate; the maps and illustrations are greatly to the point.

CAMERON, JOHN. *Osteology of the western and central Eskimos*. Including a special report upon the dentition by S. G. RITCHIE and J. STANLEY BAGNALL (Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, Vol. XII, Part C; Ottawa, 1923, pp. 79).

A detailed study of a series of crania and other skeletal remains of the Eskimo of Victoria Island, Baillie Island and adjoining points, and Port Clarence, Barter Island, and Collinson Point, Alaska. Of the crania, eleven male and fifteen female specimens were well enough preserved to be available for study. Mr. Cameron puts forward the theory that the type of mastication adopted by the Eskimo has contributed its effect in producing his characteristic type of cranium. The mandibles are massive, and they too seem to show certain effects of the unusually vigorous chewing habits of the Eskimo. Seven of the plates which accompany the paper are beautiful reproductions of selected crania and a mandible.

DUCHAUSSOIS, R. Père, O.M.I. *Aux glaces polaires, Indiens et Esquimaux*. Ottawa: L'Association de Marie Immaculée. 1921. Pp. 476.

Narratives of missionary labours of the Oblate Fathers in the Mackenzie Valley. The tribes covered are chiefly the Chipewyan, Caribou Eaters, Beavers, Yellow Knives, Dogribes, Slaves, Hares, Loucheux, Cree, and Eskimo. There are many vivid little sketches of native life and character scattered in this volume.

EMMONS, GEORGE T. *Jade in British Columbia and Alaska, and its use by the natives*. New York: Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. 1923. Pp. 53.

Descriptions, with beautifully coloured illustrations, of a number of Indian and Eskimo jade objects, for the most part collected by the author himself.

HAEBERLIN, HERMANN K. *Notes on the composition of the verbal complex in Haida* (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, nos. 3 and 4, Jan., 1923, New York, G. E. Stechert and Co., pp. 159-162).

Gives evidence to indicate that Swanton's analysis of Haida composition in verb complexes needs a rather fundamental revision.

HARRIS, Very Rev. W. R. *Parent lands of our Algonquins and Hurons* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report, 1921-22, being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 41-54).

An attempt to show that the Iroquoian and Algonkian tribes of Canada are an offshoot of the more highly civilized peoples of Mexico and Yucatan.

JENNESS, D. *Origin of the Copper Eskimos and their copper culture* (Geographical Review, vol. XIII, no. 4, 1923, pp. 540-551).

An able discussion of the archaeological, ethnological, and linguistic evidence bearing on the problem of the former and recent occupation of the region of Coronation Gulf. The writer concludes that the older inhabitants, who used pottery and very little copper, and who made sod and wood houses, belonged to the Western Eskimos and were closely affiliated to the natives of the Mackenzie Delta. The present "Copper Eskimo", on the other hand, are probably an offshoot of the people living in the barren interior west of Hudson Bay. A good case is made for the theory that they learned the use of copper from the Athabaskan Indians to the south. The movements of population discussed in this paper may be an episode in the series of larger movements of the various Eskimo groups, but Mr. Jenness does not attempt to link them up with the ultimate problem of the centre of dispersion of the Eskimo as a whole.

Physical characteristics of the Copper Eskimo (Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, Vol. XII, Part B: Ottawa, 1923, pp. 89).

A careful descriptive and anthropometric study of 82 males and 44 females of the Copper Eskimo, 2 males from Hudson Bay, 5 individuals from the Mackenzie Delta, and 14 males from Alaska. In a second section are taken up the general descriptive features of the groups examined and a statistical and graphic treatment of the various measurements. Among the conclusions reached are the fact that the Copper Eskimo show more resemblance to the eastern Eskimos than to those of Alaska, where there has been a good deal of Indian admixture. Mr. Jenness finds that there is no indication of European admixture among the Copper Eskimos. Reproductions of photographs of upwards of twenty-five Eskimo men and women, taken by various members of the Canadian Arctic expedition, close the paper.

KROEBER, A. L. *American culture and the Northwest Coast* (American Anthropologist, N.S., January-March, 1923, vol. 25, no. 1, pp. 1-20).

An unusually stimulating paper on the fundamental elements of West Coast culture and of their possible genetic relationship to allied features in the rest of aboriginal America and in Asia. Mr. Kroeber first discusses the various components of American culture under the headings of "original common American culture traits", "elements developed in America and widely spread beyond their point of origin", "elements of local American origin and remaining locally restricted", and "elements imported into America since the dawn of history in the Old World." For the West Coast area he then discusses the primitive stratum, the curious absence of certain generic American culture traits (such as bark canoes, moccasins, shields), the only superficial American parallels, the elements of local origin, and the possible Asiatic relations. A number of specific Asiatic parallels is discussed (such as armour, spindle whorl, wearing of hats). On the whole,

Mr. Kroeber finds that the case for an essentially Asiatic origin of West Coasts culture is weaker than might be anticipated from its geographical position. Independent local development seems alone to account for the major features of this most specialized of all the cultural areas of North America. Most American anthropologists will be disposed to agree with this view.

LAIDLAW, Col. G. E. *Ojibwa myths and tales, 6th paper* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report, 1921-22, being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 84-99).

A further instalment of Col. Laidlaw's valuable series of Ojibwa tales from various reserves of Ontario.

LOWIE, ROBERT H. *The buffalo drive and an old-world hunting practice* (Natural History, The Journal of the American Museum, New York, May-June, 1923, vol. XXIII, no. 3, pp. 280-282).

An interesting parallel between the Plains Indian method of impounding buffalo and the old Lapp method of impounding reindeer described by Tornaeus (1672). Mr. Lowie argues for an historical connection between the two.

MUNN, Capt. H. T. *Tales of the Eskimo. II. Where the Rainbow ends* (Chambers's Journal, July 1, 1922, pp. 425-428).

Tales of the Eskimo. III. A Man-Child of the Arctic (*Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1922, pp. 534-537, 553-555).

Tales of the Eskimo. IV. The Law of the North (*Ibid.*, Oct. 2, 1922, pp. 668-672, 681-683).

Popular narratives of life among the Eskimo of the west coast of Hudson Bay.

NIPPGEN, JOSEPH. *Le folklore des Eskimos, ses caractères généraux* (Revue d'Ethnographie et des Traditions Populaires, no. 14, Paris, 1923, pp. 189-192).

Notes based on Eskimo tales collected by Knud Rasmussen.

La maladie, la mort et les coutumes funéraires chez les Eskimos du Cuivre. 1923. Pp. 12.

Notes chiefly based on Jenness's *Life of the Copper Eskimo*.

ORR, ROLAND B. *The Hurons* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report, 1921-22, being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 8-23).

A résumé, with two maps, of the boundaries of the Huron tribes, the physical features of their territory, their inland trails through the forests, the various accounts and estimates of Huron population, the evidences for their former migrations, the outstanding features of Huron village sites, and their burial customs.

Algonquin subtribes and clans of Ontario (*Ibid.*, pp. 24-31).

Historical notes on a number of the less well-known tribes or tribal subdivisions of the Algonquins of Ontario.

The masks or false faces of our Ontario Indians (*Ibid.*, pp. 32-37).

Notes on the wooden and corn-husk masks of the Iroquois Indians of Ontario.

Red paint burial in Ontario (*Ibid.*, pp. 38-40).

Discusses a parallel in Ontario to the well-known "Red Paint" burial sites of Maine.

SAPIR, E. *A note on Sarcee pottery* (American Anthropologist, N.S., April-June, 1923, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 247-253).

Gives evidence, based on native tradition, for the former use of pottery by the Sarcee, an Athabaskan tribe of the western plains. Certain far-reaching historical possibilities are glanced at.

SAPIR, E. *A type of Athabaskan relative* (International Journal of American Linguistics, vol. 2, nos. 3 and 4, Jan., 1923, pp. 136-142).

Discusses certain Athabaskan noun forms which throw a new light on the fundamental nature of the verb stem in this curiously specialized group of American languages.

— *The phonetics of Haida* (*Ibid.*, pp. 143-158).

A survey of the rather complex sound system of Haida. Swanton's data are supplemented and to a large extent corrected.

SHAW, BEATRICE M. HAY. *The vanishing folklore of Nova Scotia* (Dalhousie Review, October, 1923, pp. 342-349).

An appeal for a more intensive study of the folk-lore of Nova Scotia. Incidental remarks on Micmac legends.

SMITH, HARLAN I. *An album of prehistoric Canadian art* (Victoria Memorial Museum, Bulletin no. 37, Anthropological Series no. 8: Ottawa, 1923, pp. 195).

A richly illustrated album of eighty-four plates, valuable both to the student of native culture and to lovers of art. All parts of the Dominion, except the Eskimo area, are covered in this publication. There is a brief introduction and a full bibliography of the subject of aboriginal Canadian art. One of the chief objects of the author in preparing the volume has been to stimulate Canadian artists and designers to use aboriginal motifs. There is no doubt that the skilful, but never slavish, utilization of Indian decorative elements can lead, and has already led, to interesting artistic results. Particularly in Canada, where the cultural tradition is not very vigorous, it would seem decidedly worth while to bring to the public consciousness the rapidly disappearing Indian background, with its elements of the picturesque and beautiful.

SPECK, F. G. *Algonkian influence upon Iroquois social organization* (American Anthropologist, N.S., April-June, 1923, vol. 25, no. 2, pp. 219-227).

Discusses the influence of the Algonquin Indians, formerly domiciled at Oka, upon their Iroquois neighbours in the matter of inheritance of hunting territories and agricultural holdings. The old matrilineal inheritance so characteristic of the Iroquois seems here to have yielded to a patrilineal system.

TEIT, J. A. *Tahltan tales, continued* (Journal of American Folk-Lore, vol. XXXIV, 1921, pp. 335-336).

The third and last instalment (nos. 57 to 79) of the late Mr. J. A. Teit's series of Tahltan tales, originally collected for the Division of Anthropology of the Canadian Government.

THOMSON, WILLIAM J. *Art of the Canadian Indians* (Thirty-third Annual Archaeological Report, 1921-22, being Part of Appendix to the Report of the Minister of Education, Ontario: Toronto, 1922, pp. 75-82).

An enthusiastic appreciation of various types of Indian design and decoration.

WISSLER, CLARK. *Man and culture*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. 1923. Pp. 371.

Though this book is not explicitly devoted to Canada either in whole or in part, it is of the greatest interest to all anthropologists and to all who are concerned with anthropological methods. It may be recommended as a sound and readable introduction to the anthropological point of view, developed by Boas and his school. This school attaches great importance to the historical process as such and relatively little to supposed racial differences of an innate sort. Dr. Wissler's book is divided into three parts. The first deals with "the meaning of culture", the second with "the form and the content of culture", the third with "the relation of culture to man".

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Department of Education for Ontario

The Adolescent School Attendance Act, which was passed by the Legislature in 1919, stated that it should come into force and take effect on a day to be named by the Lieutenant-Governor by proclamation. The Lieutenant-Governor, on the recommendation of the Minister of Education, has approved of the issuing of the proclamation bringing each provision of the Act into force and effect at a time sufficiently in the future to enable all concerned to fully prepare for satisfactorily carrying into effect the desired additional educational improvements.

The carrying out of the provisions of the Act will result in a more complete education being possible for all between the ages of fourteen and eighteen years. The following are the principal sections of the Act and the date when each is to be effective.

Section 3 (1). Every adolescent between fourteen and sixteen years of age shall attend school for the full time during which the schools of the municipality in which he resides are open each year, unless excused for the reasons hereinafter mentioned. This section of the Act is to be effective on September 1st, 1921.

Section 7 (1). Unless excused for reasons hereinafter mentioned, every adolescent between sixteen and eighteen years of age shall attend Part Time Courses of Instruction, approved by the Minister, for an aggregate of at least three hundred and twenty hours each year distributed as regards times and seasons as may suit the circumstances of each locality when such Courses of Instruction are established in the municipality in which he resides or is employed. This section of the Act is to be effective September 1st, 1925.

Section 9. On and after such date as may be fixed by the Lieutenant-Governor by proclamation, every urban municipality with a population of five thousand and over shall and any other municipality or school section may, through the authorities hereinafter named, establish and maintain Part Time Courses of Instruction for the education of adolescents between fourteen and eighteen years of age. This section of the Act is to be effective on September 1st, 1922.

The full text of the Act will be found in Chapter 78 Ontario Statutes 1919. A copy of the law in pamphlet form can be obtained by application to the Deputy Minister of Education, Parliament Buildings, Toronto.

Toronto, May, 1923.

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IN

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As a stimulus to the introduction of Manual Training and Household Science Courses in the Rural Schools, grants are made by the Department of Education to the Boards of School Trustees where equipment is provided for such courses of sums varying from \$45.00 to \$75.00 per annum, and grants are made to teachers who give the instruction of sums varying from \$15.00 to \$60.00 per annum.

The courses of instruction in those subjects are as desirable and as necessary for the boys and girls in rural localities as for those in urban municipalities, and they should, therefore, have the same opportunities to benefit by such instructions as pupils in Urban Schools.

In addition to the practical training for Industrial and Home Work that Manual Training and Household Science provide, the latter offers the inducements of hot lunches to the pupils of the school with the added interest to the school work which it accomplishes.

Full particulars are given in the Manual on Household Science which may be obtained from local dealers at 40c. per copy, or it may be obtained direct from the publishers, the Ryerson Press, Toronto, at the same price, 40c., less 20% discount with 7c. added for postage.

Toronto, May 15th, 1920.

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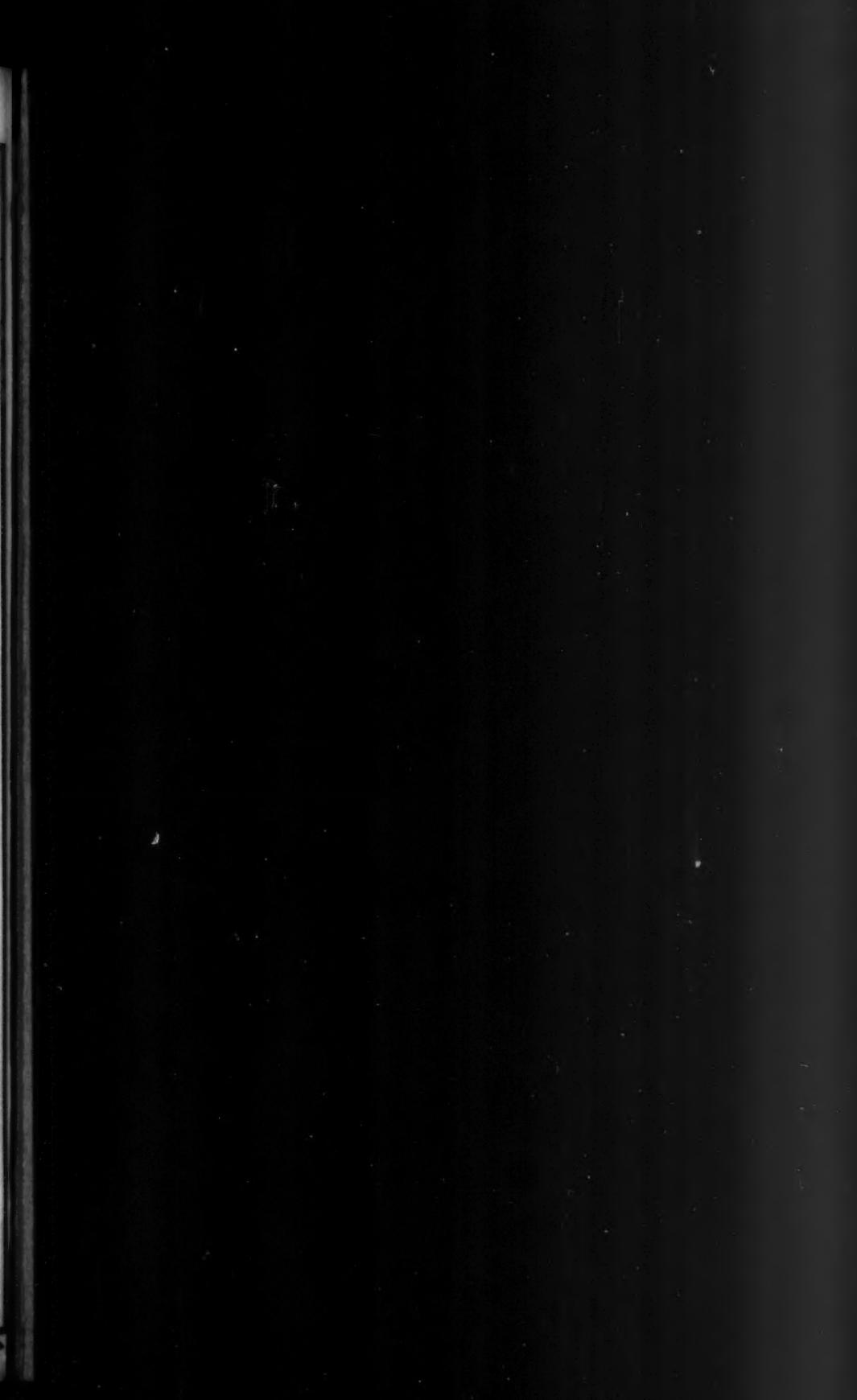
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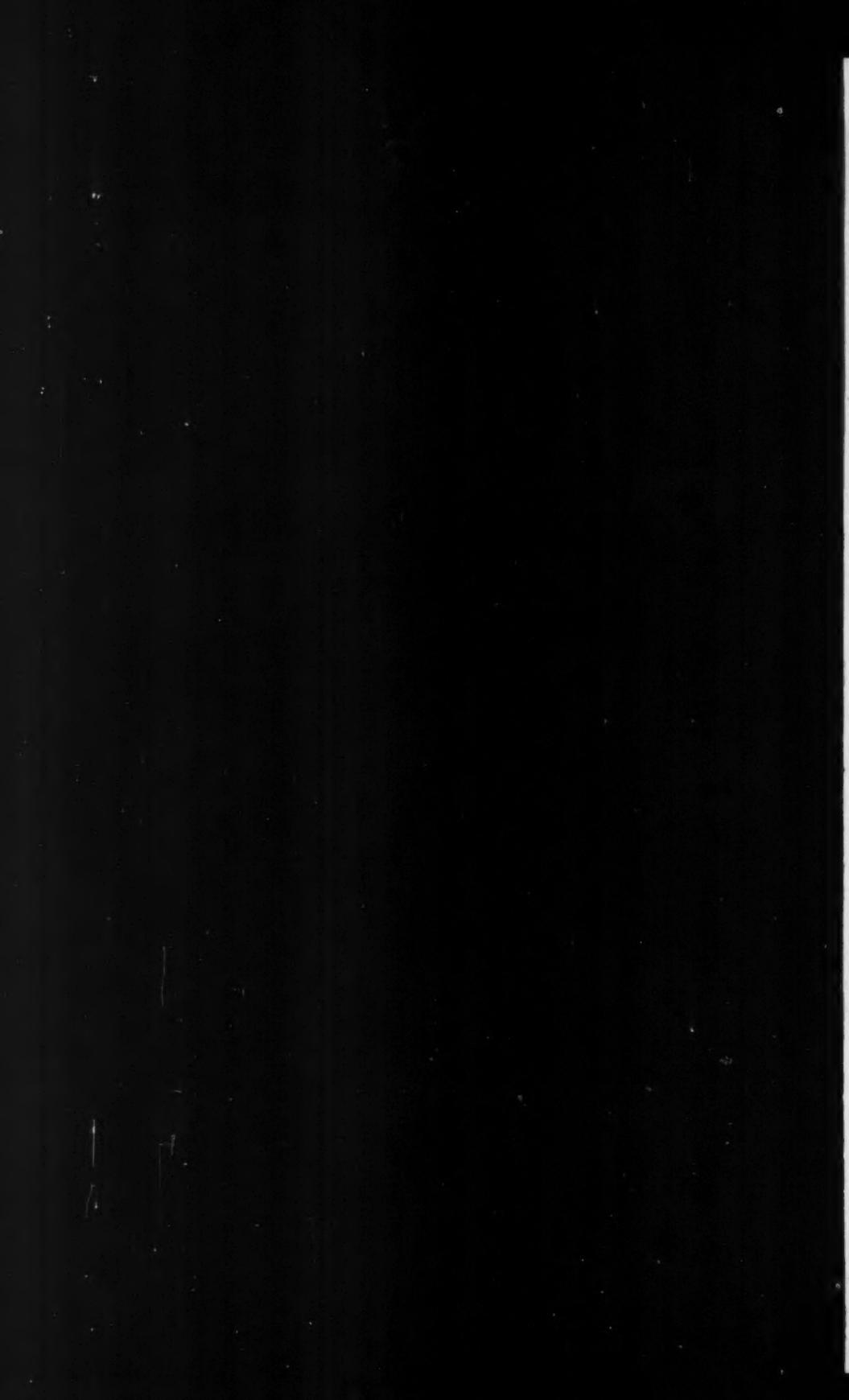
Application for attendance should be made to the Principal of the school.

**Commercial Subjects, Manual Training,
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and Horticulture** are provided for in the Courses of Study in Public, Separate, Continuation and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes, Vocational Schools and Departments.

Copies of the Regulations issued by the Department of Education may be obtained from the Deputy Minister of Education, Toronto.

TORONTO, February, 1920.





Department of Education for Ontario

SCHOOL AGES AND COURSES OF INSTRUCTION

In the educational system of Ontario provision is made in the Courses of Study for instruction to the child of four years of age in the Kindergarten up to the person of unstated age who desires a Technical or Industrial Course as a preparation for special fitness in a trade or profession.

All schools established under the Public Schools Act shall be free Public Schools, and every person between the ages of five and twenty-one years, except persons whose parents or guardians are Separate School supporters, shall have the right to attend some such school in the urban municipality or rural school section in which he resides. Children between the ages of four and seven years may attend Kindergarten schools, subject to the payment of such fees as to the Board may seem expedient. Children of Separate School supporters attend the Separate Schools.

The compulsory ages of attendance under the School Attendance Acts are from eight to sixteen years and provision is made in the Statutes for extending the time to eighteen years of age, under conditions stated in The Adolescent School Attendance Act of 1919.

The several Courses of Study in the educational system under the Department of Education are taken up in the Kindergarten, Public, Separate, Continuation and High Schools and Collegiate Institutes, and in Industrial and Technical Schools. Copies of the Regulations regarding each may be obtained by application to the Deputy Minister of Education, Parliament Buildings, Toronto.

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